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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2012



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

USSR, POLISH HIGHER SCHOOLS--Moscow--PAP correspondent Wl. Knycpel writes: At the invitation of the Soviet minister of higher and secondary specialized education, Vyacheslav Yelyutin, a delegation from the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology of the Polish People's Republic, chaired by Minister Benon Miskiewicz, has made a trip to the USSR. The discussions with Minister V. Yelyutin centered around directions of cooperation in higher education, and the implementation of decisions reached. Above all, attention was concentrated on direct cooperation between higher schools in Poland and the USSR, the broadening of cadre exchange in the field of social sciences, and also on the training of our students and doctoral candidates in Soviet schools. Minister B. Miskiewicz also held discussions with the vice chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council of Ministers State Committee on Science and Technology, Guriy Marchuk. Polish-Soviet scientific and technical cooperation was discussed, and views on the topics of verification of research problems and joint utilization of licenses were exchanged. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Apr 82 p 7]

CSO: 2600/582

ITALIAN PARTY'S INSIGHT INTO POLISH SITUATION QUESTIONED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 3 Mar 82 pp 34-46

[Article by Peter Renyi, Member of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of NEPSZABADSAG: "Consistently with Our Principles and Through Mutual Understanding. Comments on the Position of the PCI Leadership"]

[Text] It is undeniably true: we cannot expect a debate to yield any kind of a result, reconciliation or persuasion, without trying to put ourselves into our partner's position, without carefully thinking it through and empathizing with it. This also holds true for negotiations between states of opposing social systems even at times of sharp confrontation. This requirement is all the more valid then, when it comes to disputes between parties of the international communist movement, thus to the polemics which have just recently heated up between the Italian Communist Party and other European communist parties, with a degree of intensity that has surpassed all previous disputes, regarding their assessment of the state of martial law in Poland.

One of the unique characteristics of this dispute, in our opinion--and this must be pointed out right at the outset--is that our Italian comrades in leading positions virtually lack the willingness to put themselves into the position of the Polish forces who have been dedicated to socialism, namely, the Polish communists, or to interpret the situation by trying to weigh the domestic conditions that have forced the Polish leaders to introduce these extraordinary measures. A few months ago they were still showing a little greater understanding; since 13 December, however, it seems as if even this little has disappeared.

For this very reason, let me start out by saying that we also have to try to sympathize with the problems of the Italian communists; including the difficulties and dilemmas facing their party leaders and leading bodies in this extremely complex and serious tension-laden age. We cannot expect any understanding on their part, if we do not make an effort to try to understand them, however difficult it is even to explain their newly formulated theses, not to mention how impossible it is to accept them.

The sharpest debate is centered around the subject of assessing the historical role and the present day development, crises and prospects of so-called "existing socialism."

We have to start from the fact that the crisis situations which periodically appear in the countries of the socialist community present an extraordinary ordeal for those communist parties which must function in the capitalist world: the bourgeoisie, and especially their extreme reactionary forces, make full use of the opportunities offered by these crises to discredit these fraternal parties. It would be unfair by us not to take into account the terrible insults our friends have been, and continue to be, exposed to. For them, the negative political repercussions are in many ways more serious than in the socialist countries that are directly—or indirectly—affected. In these matters, aggressive bourgeois propaganda holds virtually complete monopoly; it purposely misinforms the public and uses unscrupulous exaggerations to incite hysteria, while the socialist countries have no way of counteracting these.

On such occasions, the reactionary forces take special care to ensure that their intellectual forces and technical means are concentrated in such a way as to enable them to crush the communists and all those who sympathize with socialism. We are safe to say that the propaganda campaigns unleashed by the centers of imperialism, which during periods of crises in the socialist camp become especially intense, are among the sharpest and most carefully organized actions of today's international class struggle; they use every possible weapon of agitation from false, but skillfully disguised arguments to unscrupulous efforts to stir up sentiments.

There is, therefore, enormous pressure on those who are attacked in this manner, i.e., in an attempt to make them scapegoats for events which they are not even responsible for, and which have hit them almost like natural disasters. While this is not the only aspect to be taken into account under such circumstances, it must also be examined whenever there is an outburst of emotions by certain parties (in which ones, and to what extent also depends on their ideological circumstances and on the domestic political situation): they not only condemn the socialist countries for some specific mistakes they might have made—we could not really blame them for this—but they also question the entire functioning and even the socialist character of the existing socialist systems. This is precisely what the bourgeoisie, whose aim is to add them to its line of defendants as "accomplices" is attempting to do: namely, to put these parties under such great pressure so as to have them abandon and repudiate their solidarity with existing socialism.

This holds especially true for Italy, where the forces of reaction—fearing the considerable power of the Italian communists—have been even more vicious in their attack on socialism than in other countries and have been rampantly inciting against the PCI. This is only one of the ways in which the instability of Italian society, and the "ungovernability" of that country even bourgeois politicians often talk about, manifest themselves. Incapacitating, humiliating and perhaps even trying to "win over" and integrate the communist party is in the utmost, we might even say, vital interest of the system. Since, on the domestic political scene, they have found it to be more difficult to deal a blow to the party, they have been all the more ruthless in "utilizing" the opportunities presented by the difficulties and problems of certain socialist countries.

As I have already pointed out, when we complain about their unwillingness to try to put themselves into and think through our position, we are not expecting our Italian comrades to close their eyes to the mistakes we have made. However, we do want them to understand that their search for alternative roads to socialism and our efforts to find alternative forms of socialist development cannot hope to succeed without the security guaranteed by the power and the policies of the Soviet Union, and by the existence and struggle of already realized socialism aimed at ensuring the preservation of world peace. We also want them to realize that in working toward these goals we are both faced with the same desperate and dangerous enemy. This, however, does not change the fact that it is our duty to make our opinion known decisively and without hesitation, wherever we find—and this is what seems to be taking place in the PCI—that as a result of pressure, serious concessions are being made on matters of principle. In fact, for this very reason—while respecting their independence—we must use every argument at our disposal to prevent them from succumbing to such pressures.

What this requires in the given situation, first of all, is that we refute all reactionary theses alleging a general and final crisis of socialism, and show what the real characteristics of temporary crises are, how they have come about, and which factors hamper and which may promote efforts to discredit them. It is our duty all the more, since—if we may say so—we are at least as competent in this as our friends in the West.

What has intensified the dispute virtually to a breaking point is not the fact that the leaders of the Italian party have disapproved of the measures taken to save the Polish socialist system (although—as we will later discuss—they are wrong in this also), but a statement which they made in connection with this in the 30 December 1981 resolution of the PCI leadership: "that period in the development of socialism which began with the October Revolution has exhausted its impetus"; "we must look for entirely new ways to give fresh momentum to the struggle for democracy and socialism in the world"; in the Eastern European countries "regressive processes" are taking place, and the existing system "does not allow real democratic participation either in production, or in politics"; "their repeated attempts at bringing about a renewal have failed." And it was on the basis of this that they went on to conclude that "in the present phase it is becoming increasingly clear that the future development of socialism will have to be based on those ideas and democratic and socialist achievements which have evolved in the developed capitalist countries, primarily in the countries of Western Europe, and on those progressive, socialist-inspired, successful experiences which—following their particular individual roads—the countries of the Third World have gathered."

This resolution, of course, also contains some observations about the achievements of the socialist system; their assessment of the present situation is that it is characterized by "balances," in which the pluses and minuses offset each other. They state, for example, that while the role of the Soviet Union "sometimes coincides with the interests of those peoples struggling for freedom and national independence against imperialism and the reactionary systems, it sometimes runs counter to

those interests and occasionally may go even as far as to openly violate them." In other places, they admit that the Soviet Union has been fighting for the preservation of European stability, but they see this as something which the USSR uses to justify its "suppression of demands for human rights, for independence and for the renewal of economic, social and cultural life..." As far as the tendencies of socialist development beyond the present situation are concerned, however, there is no more mention of any pluses or positive aspects. As pathetic as the resolution's tone is when it speaks about the heroic past, and about the historical role of the October Revolution, just as all-out and categorical is it in renouncing the present development and the future of existing socialism. They go beyond simply saying that in other regions of the world, in Eastern Europe, for example, different roads must be and can be sought for socialism to assert itself—a requirement, by the way, which we have long been advocating—what they are saying instead, is that since it has already "exhausted its impetus" within existing socialism, the only hope for socialist development to continue successfully is outside of its limits. "The boundaries of socialism—since it is a universally evolving historical process—do not coincide with the boundaries of the Eastern European countries," says the resolution. The thesis, according to which the continuation of socialist development is left more and more clearly to those movements which operate in the developed countries and "Third World" countries, seems to suggest that as far as they are concerned the leaders of the PCI have all but "written off"—as a dead end—the socialism that has been established in the socialist countries.

This view, regardless of when or by whom it may be expressed, must be rejected; but it is especially disappointing for us to have to do so when we hear it from the leaders of a communist party, and it is particularly upsetting for us in the present situation, since by advocating this view they are giving direct support to the anti-Soviet and anti-peace campaign of the most aggressive circles of imperialism. A campaign, the effects of which have justly led Brezhnev to state only recently that "the international situation has never been this serious since WW II.

Even West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt—who in the last couple of weeks has made such extremely great, at times seemingly almost unexpiable concessions under pressure put on him by the United States—has not gone this far. He has tried to keep some doors—although only narrow ones—open toward Eastern Europe. When in an interview he gave at the end of January to LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR he was asked whether he thought that the Polish developments were proof that in the countries of the Warsaw Pact (including the GDR) it was impossible to have any kind of internal development—which, of course, would have implied, in effect, that the FRG's Ostpolitik has been a deception of the masses—he answered: "Poland's case does not prove that there is no chance for any kind of development. Take a look at Hungary and all the changes that have taken place there since the suppression of the rebellion." In explaining the need for continuing the Ostpolitik he added: "We wish to have a morally clean relationship with the Polish nation, regardless of who may be in charge of running the country, whether it be Gomulka, Gierek or now another communist... Even though we are talking about a communist system, we are grateful for everything that Warsaw has done to bring about a reconciliation between Germans and Poles."

Whatever Schmidt's view may otherwise be regarding the socialist systems of Eastern Europe, it is clear that he does not judge their domestic possibilities as categorically as the Central Committee of the PCI has done.

It is clear that this is the question which needs to be cleared up first in this dispute. Not that we could not confront these unfair or prejudiced views with the already attained achievements of socialism. But even more serious than their disesteem for these achievements is the fact, that the PCI resolution questions the established socialist systems' inner potentials, i.e., their capacity to release their latent stimulating, incentive and driving forces and to further broaden their scope. It sets up an analogy between the capitalism-serving Second International and today's socialism, and goes on to condemn the former by saying that it had also exhausted its reserves. However, even this fails to stand up to the facts; an objective observer cannot say even about the capitalist system that it is no longer able to mobilize any reserves. How can they say this about socialism then, which measured on the time scale of the development of social formations, is still young! Why, this new socioeconomic formation has had but a single generation's length of time—following the epochmaking achievements of those great pioneers, the early years during which Soviet Russia was still struggling to overcome backwardness, isolation and ruthless intervention, and later its life-and-death struggle which also helped to save humanity—to concentrate (and even then amidst constant threats) on asserting its capabilities and potentials.

The decisive criterion for this kind of a far-reaching social transformation to occur is not that there can be no mistakes, that the leading forces must be able to immediately find the optimal solution, or that there can never be—sometimes even serious—distortions in certain processes. This holds especially true, when we consider that in general it was in the underdeveloped countries where socialism first triumphed, and that by necessity, building a fundamentally new society elsewhere may also entail several risks, searches for solutions, failures, mistakes and down swings following great bursts of activity.

In Hungary's case, our party and people had to learn that at the expense of some especially harsh lessons. And not just in the sense that simultaneously with the crushing of the counterrevolution we also broke with the sins and mistakes of the Rakosiite leadership—without which the revival of socialism could not even have begun in our country. One of the most universal lessons we learned back then was that only by taking initiatives and by experimenting, constantly checking and double-checking our experiences to see what works and what needs to be changed, can we hope to build a new society and answer new questions as they arise; that we must advance consistently and step by step, that even the most carefully thought-out, best decisions have virtually unavoidable negative outgrowths, and that there is no such a thing as a conflict-free situation. In other words, we learned that although we can—and indeed must—define our long-term goals and tasks in the course of building our socialist society, the attainment of those goals in something which can only be realized through unceasing self-critical and critical analysis and with the addition of increasingly newer inner incentive forces.

This is the road we have been following for the past 25 years--and with considerable success, we might add--yet today we still feel that we are only in the beginning phase of this development, and that there are still enormous resources lying underneath which have to be allowed to surface.

We cannot, and indeed we do not, claim that this is the prevailing view in every area of social activity and in all spheres of public life. There is a great disparity of views--in this respect, also--even in a relatively small country like ours. The general objective tendency and dominant pursuit of our development, however, is still toward trying to release the creative forces that are latent in our system.

It must be pointed out that it appears as if our Italian comrades' criticisms were concentrated only on the Soviet Union and on the countries that have close ties with it. It seems that what they really want to prove is not so much the "failure" of existing socialism, but their claim that the Soviet Union, as a great power, is trying to force its will on its allies at all cost.

The only thing that is wrong with this, is that one needs only to take a look at the social arrangements of the countries cooperating either in the Warsaw Pact or in the CEMA, to realize that this is not the case at all. It is true that at the time the socialist countries in question first came into being, due to a lack of other examples, they chose the Soviet experiences as their models to follow; as a result of dogmatism and the personal cult that subsequently ensued, it became a widespread practice to mechanically copy those models, and this was to become the source of many problems. Since then, however, it has become an axiom that neither the universally valid regularities, nor the experiences that have been shown to work in the socialist countries can be applied without first taking into account the individual countries' national characteristics and without upholding the principle of self-determination. In turn, this recognition has led to the development of a complex and multicolored practice which, aside from maintaining certain common characteristics, has made it very difficult even to typify these states.

Even in the West, many people have recognized the clearly pronounced characteristics of Hungary's brand of socialism. Quite a few of our observers there have been wondering how we have managed to obtain "permission" --from Moscow, of course--for implementing such "heretical" reforms. This same question may also be asked in the case of other countries, which may be "heretics" in a different sense, and which may deviate in some other way from the allegedly involuntary and mandatory doctrines. The problem is that if--as in the case of Hungary, for example--this kind of practice has been going on for nearly a quarter of a century now, and if others have been following still different roads for similarly long periods of time, would it not be about time to start thinking that perhaps this threatening rule, according to which anything that needs to be done in the socialist community requires "the Kremlin's" approval, does not even exist?

In their current polemics, the Italian communist leaders have made a special point of rebuking the CPSU, as well as some other Eastern European parties, for rejecting their criticisms "without seriously analyzing them" and for dismissing their views as slender. Well, let us examine then just how exactly the PCI has analyzed the declaration of martial law in Poland.

Let us start with the date their first and categorical position was announced, for this happens to be quite significant in this case.

It was during the night from 12 to 13 December 1981, that the extraordinary measures were first put into effect in Poland. On Sunday the 13th, even the Western statesmen were only making cautious statements; Chancellor Schmidt, who was on a visit in the GDR at the time, made it clear that the FRG would strictly adhere to the principle of noninterference, that West German economic assistance would continue regardless of who was in charge in Poland, and that he hoped that the Polish people would be able to solve their longstanding problems. French Foreign Minister Dheysson declared: "This is an internal Polish matter. We would very much like to see the Poles themselves taking care of these Polish matters. At the moment, we see no sign of outside interference." Even American Secretary of State Haig was reluctant to take a definitive stand at the time: "Naturally, we cannot tell how these events are going to unfold... Our representative was told that they wanted to continue with the reforms... Without additional information it would not be appropriate for me to comment any further at this time."

We are well aware, that this moderation did not last long. Especially not by the leaders of the United States, but the others also changed their tone within a few days. Still one has to stop and wonder about what made the PCI come out and declare as early as Sunday evening, on the very day martial law was put into effect: "We must condemn these measures... a system is needed in which the reaching of a national consensus and the guaranteeing of the human rights and national independence of the Polish people is based on open debate; which does not require the use of forcible measures, isolates all extremist and irresponsible tendencies and rejects all outside pressures and every form of external interference."

But it is not just this shocking haste that has made us wonder about the seriousness of our Italian comrades' analysis. They have indicated that they are not denying that there were some "extremist and irresponsible tendencies" that had to be isolated. However, in the same sentence they are admitting this, they also call on the Polish leaders to start building on open debate and refrain from using any forceful measures. Let us examine what is behind this line of reasoning.

By "extremist and irresponsible elements" in this context, they are obviously referring to those people who up until 13 December had held influential positions in the top leadership of Solidarity, i.e., those who had initiated and directed the subversive activities. How would it have been possible to build on these elements in the form of an open debate? How can any analysis be called "serious" which refuses to take into account the fact,

that starting from August 1980 the Polish Government and party had been devoting all their efforts to making attempt after attempt to initiate an open debate on principles and to avoid having to use forcible measures. The results of these efforts are well known: instead of creating a national consensus, the forces of counterrevolution were able to build up their positions, and the action they had announced for 17 December did not, and could not have had any other aim than to seize power.

This is not contradicted even by the fact that there were also some more moderate forces among the Solidarity leadership. The only problem was, that at no time during Solidarity's 18 months of operation were these moderates in a position where they could have played a policy-setting role; on all critical points, and with increasing clarity, it was the goals of the radical extremists which the central and some of the more powerful regional bodies of the organization chose to espouse and implement. As we learned from the Radom tapes: it was this predominant group of Solidarity itself which finally got fed up with its disguise as a constructive debating partner and chose to arm its active. How should we look upon an analysis which disregards these unmistakable facts; which demands open debate, when it was precisely the opponents' constant breach of faith that had made open debate impossible; which requests that the forces defending the people's power refrain from the use of force, while the forces bent on undermining this power were organizing to employ force in order to assume power.

Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, who cannot be considered procommunist by any standard, just recently chided those members of Solidarity—from the Social Democratic point of view, of course—who thought that "all one needed to do was to demonstrate and strike and everything would be solved, and who failed to recognize that there are certain weapons which must be handled with care if one wants to preserve the state." Elsewhere, he talks about the fact that "politically" the movement "was obviously left without a leadership"—referring to the role of the Catholic Church, which in his opinion never proved to be suitable for directing workers' movements.

Kreisky also takes note of the social and consciousness-related components of Solidarity, especially the fact, that the organization's activists had been recruited from among new worker generations which had just recently moved up from the villages—mostly during the accelerated industrial development period of the 1970's—and which, therefore, could not have had any experience either in the workers movement, or in recognizing the interrelationships which, in our complex, age must be properly handled to ensure an adequate level of economic productivity and an appropriate standard of living. It was primarily the naivete of these strata which the "extremist and irresponsible elements" were taking advantage of. Our Italian comrades' comments are totally lacking these kinds of considerations.

The 30 December resolution calls the Polish situation an "extremely acute political crisis" which "shook, and has continued to shake the very foundations of Polish society"; this is how it assesses the unrest and rebellion that had been brought to the surface by economic difficulties, and in addition, by a lack of democracy, by overbureaucratization,

corruption and by the existence of some intolerable privileges. Although we do not consider this characterization complete, since there were also other forces and mistakes that contributed to holding back the development of Polish society, still we must admit: the raising of the problems listed is justified.

But how could anyone consider it conceivable that the outbreak of a profound crisis of such great dimensions which had been building up for decades, would not unavoidably bring with it the serious danger of a takeover by counterrevolutionary forces? If a society is shaken "in its foundations," and if the results of its inner tensions can be called a "rebellion"—then we would like to know how one could even think that this would not increase exponentially the influence of the system's enemies, making it several times greater than it would otherwise be in calm, normal times; that spontaneous reactions and deliberately dissentient, counterrevolutionary organizing activities and manipulations do not endanger the socialist system as a whole, including all of its achievements? And that we do not need to use whatever acceptable means we have at our disposal to defend those fundamental achievements which—despite all its mistakes—make this a socialist society?

It is worth examining in detail, how this problem has been handled by the PCI's recent publications. "It does not surprise us," says UNITA in its 26 January article, "that the enemies of socialism and the provocators are also active. But why were they not isolated politically? How could they acquire such broad popular influence within the Polish working class?" With the same rationale, we might as well ask: Why did they make the mistakes they made? Obviously, it was because of these mistakes that they failed to isolate them! But could this be all there is to it, when—even according to UNITA—the forces exercising this great influence on Polish society are none other than the very "enemies of socialism and the provokers"? Is it not more important at a time like this to try to find ways of defending the system against hostile elements; a system, which at the cost of immense efforts has been able to build a country in a totally destroyed area, in one of Europe's most desolate fields of ruin, which compared to the old Poland has made gigantic steps forward in all walks of life? How would it be possible—once we have acknowledged the fact that the enemies of socialism have acquired mass influence—to abandon efforts to stop these hostile elements, when this is precisely what constitutes the basic condition for rectifying the mistakes. Or maybe our Italian comrades believe that what the opponents of the system had in mind was to correct the mistakes of socialism, or that these latter were going to use the "broad" influence they had acquired among the masses to remedy whatever the former leadership had messed up?

There are, in the above-mentioned resolution of the PCI, certain provisions which seem to support this assumption. According to the text, with the announcement of Solidarity's program, "the Polish working class made a powerful entrance onto the political scene, and began to demand an opportunity to have an actual voice in enterprise management, economic guidance and state control. How does the PCI compare these last two

categories: i.e., "the broad working masses influenced by hostile elements" as described by UNITA on the one hand, and "the working class that has made such a powerful entrance onto the political scene" and whose aim, in the words of the resolution, is to reform socialism, on the other?

Naturally, the hostile elements must also be isolated politically. However, anyone who has, at one time or another, been forced to live through a similar crisis--as we, Hungarians had to, unfortunately--knows, that the enemies of the system are at a great advantage in movements which suddenly emerge under these kinds of tense conditions. The advocates of rational reform and change, who at the same time are also trying to protect the achievements already attained, are in an incomparably less advantageous position than the demagogues who try to make irresponsible use of discontent, for whom no cost is too great. Everyone is familiar with the laws of mass psychosis. It would be self-deceiving to believe that, immediately following August 1980, these "reformers of socialism" ruled or could have ruled the scene.

The next charge is that the reason the PZPR's efforts failed was because they were constantly frustrated by dogmatists and conservatives within the party, and because incompetence and indecision became increasingly widespread. But why was the PZPR leadership hesitating for so long? Was it not because of the pressure put on it by Solidairty? Was it not because it was concerned about protecting the system's achievements from the extremists? The reason it did not isolate itself more distinctly even from the dogmatists--or more precisely, from the voluntarism of the previous leadership--was presumably because it was afraid that this would only add oil to the fire of hysteria. As soon, however, as the party and the government decided to put an end to the dominant role of the counterrevolutionary groups, there were also more definite steps taken on this front.

Those who had been following the struggle of the Polish leadership during the past year and a half in question must have sensed the internal agony it was going through; those who held offices during this tragic period sincerely regretted the mistakes (which had not even been committed by them to begin with!), and tried to do everything in their power to rectify them; this is what they were requesting time and patience for. It is true that what they believed was impossible--and for this they do deserve some criticism, but only once it is made clear that they were faced with ruthless subversives and other destructive elements, willing to risk even the fate of their nation, who cynically even took advantage of the vulnerabilities of people who were struggling with their conscience.

What we cannot understand at all about the emotions which keep resurfacing in our Italian comrades' resolutions and speeches, is that they are directed against those who, amidst some painful ordeals, have been finally able to pull themselves together. Characterizing them as if they were despotic careerists obsessed with power; presenting General Jaruzelski, the first secretary of the Polish party as some kind of a self-appointed dictator; and calling the 13 December action a military coup d'etat--are all tragic signs of a fundamental misunderstanding of the situation.

How can they disregard the fact, that what occurred on 13 December in Poland, had been forced on the country by those who had wrecked every attempt at compromise and had blocked every way out. The PZPR had gone a long way trying to reach an agreement on the basis of some kind of minimum compromise. Only after every possibility had been exhausted, and after several warnings did it decide--virtually at the 24th hour--to resort to extraordinary measures; and even then, without any doubt, with the intent of continuing the process of reform as soon as all subversive actions threatening lawful order had been eliminated.

For us, who had already lived through a counterrevolution in October 1956, it is perfectly clear that the most important question facing Poland was the same: how to separate those embittered and disgruntled people who wanted a better, reformed socialism, from the revisionist, counterrevolutionary demagogues; how to regain the people's trust, while the enemy is trying to paralyze the followers of the system by way of incitement and through the use of force--in our case, even by using force of arms. In situations like this, the frontlines become blurred, and the chaos which is created leaves no other choice than to forcibly remove all subversive elements from the scene and to restore basic order, which at the same time is also the main condition for finding a political solution. In Poland--fortunately--there was an indigenous, well-organized force, the national army, which undertook the task of eliminating anarchy.

And another thing: those organizing to overthrow the system overestimated their own power and believed that they had once and for all smashed all resistance by the followers of socialism and that victory was theirs. But can we say that their calculations, even though they have been proven wrong--were entirely without foundation? Hardly. Even if from nothing else, from this at least the PCI could have concluded that those Polish leaders who had finally decided to act had done so not from a position of overwhelming power, but by taking much greater risks than their enemies; in other words: with heroic audacity. Perhaps nothing is more saddening in this dispute than the decision by our Italian comrades to describe this action aimed at saving Polish socialism as a "blow to socialism." One cannot help but wonder how they would have reacted if the goals put forth by the leaders of Solidarity on the evening of 12 December had become a reality.

In Poland's case, the PCI has also charged that the Soviet Union has been trying with every means at its disposal to force its own model on the Poles. But what does practice show? Even from the point of view of its structural makeup, Polish society has been visibly (and for a long time) different from that of the Soviet Union. The Soviet national economy is based on unified socialist bases, while in Poland even today the greatest part of agriculture is in the hands of small-scale private operators. The process of industrialization in Poland has been also significantly different from the forms this process has taken in the Soviet Union. It so happens that one of the most widely debated problems of Poland's industrial development today is that the country has used excessively large capitalist credits to build up its financial base, and that in marketing its products it has come to rely mostly on capitalist markets. For years before the

crisis, the socialist countries had been giving friendly warnings to the Polish leadership, cautioning them against excesses. (It may sound strange, but it is a fact: in this respect, if we must assign blames, the responsibility for the mistakes of Poland's economic policy should be shared more by those Western states and banks which had a thorough knowledge of the conditions existing there.)

As far as other structures of society are concerned: the Catholic Church has played, and continues to play even today, an extremely important role in Poland. (This has been so strictly respected by the PZPR that it has never considered belonging to the church and holding religious beliefs as reasons that would disqualify people even from joining the party.) In Poland, non-Marxist parties have also been, and still continue to be, allowed to operate. These two factors, even if they have not played a determinant role in developing the state's character, have had a noticeable effect on society, on political life, and in general on the climate of thought, on the ideological sphere, culture and art. There have been wide opportunities for "thinking differently" and for expressing views which differ from the "official" line. (Unfortunately, the previous leadership was so confident of its presumed power and was so tolerant that it also allowed organization by definitely confrontationalist, hostile forces.)

From the moment of its inception, people's Poland has been characterized by an extremely strong sense of national consciousness, and one might even say, by an intensified national sensitivity, which has been a natural consequence of the Polish people's turbulent history. During the period since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the peculiarities of the Polish development have become even more pronounced and have evolved in an even greater variety of directions. Perhaps we could even say: as much as it can be discerned, it is Poland which--in addition to all of its similarities--has had the most divergent features among the countries of the socialist community.

This, of course, does not in the least change the fact that the above-mentioned mistakes have already been made; it merely refutes the charge that these mistakes stem from some kind of a "socialist model forced on Poland." Moreover, if they seriously tried to analyze the causes behind the crisis situation of 1980, they would clearly see: Poland's unique problems have played an enormous role in bringing things to the point they are at today, undoubtedly more than in Hungary in 1956. The fact that the country's economy rests on two fundamentally different sectors is also connected with forced industrialization, since the basic intent of this latter was to ensure supplies to the population, without protests from the peasants or conflicts with the church. Following the liberation--partly to make up for the horrible losses suffered during the war, and partly because of the goal of building a "Polish nation of 50 million"--there was a significant increase in the rate of population growth: consequently, new jobs had to be created to meet the needs of the oncoming generation. Overestimating its realistic possibilities, the leadership, newly transformed following the disturbances of 1970, also wanted instant results in creating new jobs. Disregarding

the world market changes of 1973, it continued to make gigantic investments, inspired partly by its determination to ensure full employment. Although between 1970 and 1975 there was a marked improvement in the standard of living, the economy soon had to pay for these unrealistic industrialization schemes and excessively high rates of investment; there was an insufficient amount of consumer goods and foodstuffs compared to the level of wages paid, a part of the credits was used up by consumption; consequently, serious disproportions were created in the national economy.

We cannot condemn the group of leaders responsible for the mistakes of this economic policy simply by saying that they disregarded every wish of the popular masses; at times they were very much seeking popularity, and several of their currently criticized undertakings were aimed precisely at trying to win the favor of public opinion. But their living-standard policy, unsupported by an adequate level of production and lacking proper foundations; their economic policy which had led to inflation and to constantly worsening supplies, eventually undermined the relationship between the party and the people. The masses' distrust was further increased by attempts to introduce sudden unpopular, although otherwise necessary, price measures without warning. This is another thing which they did not learn from outside "models"...

The other root of the problem, as seen by the PCI, was that the Polish communists "refused to accept the fact, that they had to make some real changes in the social model; that they would have to introduce certain elements of political and institutional democracy into their system; that they would have to assert the principle of pluralism, and that by doing so they would have to ensure actual participation in the exercise of power." UNITA went on to blame the PZPR for: "stubbornly insisting that the bylaws (i.e., those of the Solidarity) include and recognize the leading role of the party, even though this, in addition to being a completely disputable principle, is merely a simple phrase." Today, more than a year and a half after the debate on Solidarity's bylaws, it has become perfectly clear that in reality the leaders of the union never for a moment considered adhering to this principle seriously, and were declaring it merely as an empty phrase. The reason for this was that the actual founders and organizers of Solidarity, and the people who perfected its concept, demanded that the leading role be given to their own organization; as they later made it clear: they wanted Solidarity—which they considered, as they put it, the only guarantee of renewal—to have complete monopoly.

In the 1970's, especially during the second half of the decade, the monopoly of power in the Polish party was held by a voluntaristic and over-confident group of leaders. Another indication of the inauspicious character of the situation was that those who had been emphatically warning against these mistakes and against the dangers stemming from them were subsequently removed from leading positions. We know very well from the lessons we learned at the price of great sacrifices in the course of the Hungarian Workers Party's history, how dangerous it can be when collectivity within the leadership disappears, and when a single faction or group begins to

suppress all other opinions. We could understand our Italian comrades' misgivings if this were what they had in mind. The only thing we cannot understand is how they could overlook and ignore the fact that this process was even more distinctly and more unequivocally repeated in the leadership and in the entire activity of Solidarity.

It is obvious that under socialism many different interests and ideas have to be taken into account. Our own experience also shows that cooperation among various constructive forces can only be truly fruitful if the political and institutional democracy ensures the necessary forums and limits for differing interests and aspirations to manifest themselves, to be confronted, and for free discussions and rational compromises to evolve—in other words: if it allows actual participation in the exercise of power. But was this really what Solidarity was an example of? Why, there was never even any mention of the differing interests, positions and views of the various groups within this multimillion-member organization; there were no attempts either on the branch or any other levels to organize the representation of these interests. Clearly, only in one sense were the various committees formed according to regional and factory-level principles able to act individually and independently: namely, in that many of them even outdid the central organs in organizing strikes and demonstrations; the majority of the membership which, in view of the developments, was becoming increasingly concerned, could not even make its voice be heard. A strictly centralized organization was becoming established within Solidarity, with an increasingly large apparatus and bureaucracy, which began to rise above its own masses. Why is it that this was never recognized by those who continued to curse the party bureaucracy even after it began to take action against those functionaries who had misused their authority, irrespective of their ranks and earlier merits, and tried to establish puritan order in its own household?

The development of democracy is indeed the basic question of socialism. As our practice has proven, we are also trying to make certain that the organs, movements and forums of democracy function properly, both in content and in merit, and that our workers have a greater say in the administration of matters in all areas. And we also know that those complications which lead to disputes and confrontations are natural concomitants of development. What is crucial, however, is that this confrontation of various interests and views must promote better utilization of the socialist system's resources and serve the advancement of socialist development. In order for this to be possible, however, inevitably it is necessary to have a political force—in addition to the need to ensure the far-reaching independence of organizations representing various interests—which, as a body responsible for all the workers and aware of this responsibility, is able both organizationally and ideologically to lead society along the road of building socialism.

As a result of the Eastern European countries' historical development, this task has been performed by the communist parties. Our party wishes to emphasize that the essence of its leading role is to further this cause: It is not allowed to claim any privileges for itself, and it may not rule

or form a special caste. The most important guarantee of this, again, is the effectiveness and maturity of our socialist democracy. Why would this be a "completely debatable principle" or an "empty phrase"? This assessment is just as false as it would be to say this about the devoted work which, for example, the Italian communists have been doing in their own country, serving in various party and public functions, which unfortunately they have not been able to do as part of the government as they have long deserve it, given their importance.

There is no doubt about it that it would be incomparably better both for our Italian comrades and for us, if crisis situations of the kind which currently exists in Poland never happened again; if hostile elements had no breeding ground to thrive on; and if it were impossible to stir up the class struggle in the socialist countries to the point where it begins to threaten the existence of the system and requires the use of military action. It is clear, that in a country like Italy where conspiracies such as the P-2 have been allowed to continue, where terrorism has taken frightening dimensions, where neo-fascist commandos have been rampant—there are enormous dangers threatening democracy and the working masses. It is also evident, that whenever military martial law is introduced in a socialist country, this may give reactionary forces in Italy an excuse to use coercion against the progressive forces. We would be disregarding a very important connection, if as part of our efforts aimed at strengthening socialism, at developing our democracy and our economy and at eliminating mistakes, we failed to consider it to be an extremely important international motive to feel a sense of responsibility for our comrades who are struggling under capitalist conditions.

This, however, does not change the fact, that once the crises have broken out we have to defend ourselves against our enemies who are controlled by the very same elements which are also threatening progress in Italy. It is an unacceptable logic which puts an equal sign between taking action against a counterrevolution supported by imperialists, and an imperialist counter-revolution aimed at crushing the force of progress; i.e., which talks about a "military coup d'etat" and a "military junta" in today's Poland. This is astonishing not only because the Polish Government has been operating on legal foundations and because it has been limiting its actions to enforcing only the most necessary measures striving for political normalization at the earliest possible time, while the counterrevolutionary juntas are practicing bloody terror and are massacring their populations—but also because our class goals are diametrically opposed in every respect. The Military Council of National Salvation is headed by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the communists have control in the military leadership, the party organs and party organizations are playing an increasingly active role in the process of normalization; and the struggle for the people, and for the trust of the people is being waged under socialism.

In their bitter struggle for their rights, the Italian workers are faced with the same people who—while repressing the unions of the Italian workers—are shedding crocodile tears for Solidarity. The Italian party

leadership would be risking its own credibility by failing to expose this hypocrisy of the class enemy, and by refusing to ask the question: how was it possible for the leaders of Solidarity to accept the financial, political and "moral" assistance they were given by the sponsors of the likes of Pinochet and Duarte with open arms? For these are the kinds of facts which can reveal the most clearly where the real frontlines are drawn.

We cannot believe, furthermore, that criticizing the socialist countries would permanently and significantly strengthen the PCI's domestic positions. Nobody really expects them to idealize our realized--more precisely, still materi lizing--socialism. But how do they expect to be able to convince the masses "to open a new phase in the struggle for socialism," as they even put it in the title of their 30 December resolution, if they consider the efforts that have already been made for socialism to be unpursuable and void? Although it does not come right out and say it, this concept also implies that they are promising people a new phase which will be free of problems and conflicts. The problem is that these are merely illusions.

It has often been said, that one of socialism's historic disadvantages is that until now it has only been able to triumph in underdeveloped countries. And this is true, indeed. But is it really conceivable that the transition from modern monopoly capitalism to socialism will be simple, a kind of conflict- and crisis-free victory march? Not at all. The fact, that this process will have to take a form that is essentially different from the form it took in the Eastern European countries, which in most cases had had started from an underdeveloped level, is something which all sensible people realize. But to say that the road could be made smoother by rejecting what has been learned under socialism until now, and to talk as if the best thing for the socialism of the future were to forget that the existing socialism ever existed--these, to say the least, we consider dangerous illusions which ignore the realities of history.

Moreover, we also doubt that this could win new followers and voters for them in their country. We assume that those Italian workers who are searching for other alternatives to present-day capitalism also expect to use whatever they can of capitalism; it goes without saying then, that they would also want to analyze the already realized socialism, making use of everything in it which is applicable and which can be further developed.

The PCI resolution's assessment of the present situation creates the impression that in the West the cause of socialism has arrived at a historic turning point, and it promises the coming of a new upward trend. World public opinion, however, is permeated by different moods: The feelings which dominate the emotional atmosphere of various peoples are the fear of war and the unrestrained arms buildup by the aggressive imperialist forces. There has been a rapid strengthening of efforts to mobilize and gather all forces--including, naturally, the socialist community--to help humanity avert the irremediable catastrophe. We

wholeheartedly hope that the Italian communists will succeed in opening a "new phase" in their struggle for socialism. There is no doubt, however, that this will also largely depend on our ability to avert wars. The consequences could be most tragic if the communist parties, the international workers movement and the various peace-loving forces failed to join forces against the danger of war.

We have been calling for mutual understanding, for trying to sympathize with each other's situations and problems; but first and foremost, we must try to put ourselves into the situation of our endangered human race. After all, what is at greatest stake today is the very survival of peace and of the peoples of the world.

9379

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PROBLEM OF INTERPRETING SOCIALISM IN LIGHT OF REALITY DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Apr 82 p 7

[Article by Ivan T. Berand, rector of Karl Marx University of Economics: "Our Image of Socialism Yesterday and Today"]

[Text] The history of the past quarter of a century has been accompanied by debates. This is understandable for many earlier values have become questionable, even suspect, and we have had to find new paths where solutions already tested could hardly be of help. Debates were conducted about the price system and its possible principles, but we also had to revise our relationship with our own past and in this framework the peasant writers were reevaluated as well as agrarian policy, debates were conducted on the education system, the methods of planning, the demographic situation, the course to be followed by socio-policy, tipping, and the housing problem. We could, as a matter of fact, work out the course of the past 25 years through a history of the debates.

The recurrent dominant motif, more accurately described as the motif accompanying the quarter-century old debates, may be defined as the conflict between economic-social reality and the image of socialism that lives in society and politics. To put it another way: a considerable part of the debate derives from the fact that the action that desires to take into account the actual or presumed requirements of social demands and attitudinal forms came into conflict from time to time with the concept of socialism which has been regarded as valid, and in terms of the latter the requirements of socialism have been called to account in social or political practice, or in proposals for transforming them.

At first glance it may appear that a summary of the concept of socialism is a simple task. The natural constituent elements of socialism are state-ownership of this means of production; collectivized, cooperative agriculture; and central social planning based on social property. The working class as organized into the ruling class, the principle of distribution according to work, and state constraint linked to everything, but which assures democracy for the majority and helps put into actual public ownership the interests and cultural values of the public, is fixed with sloganlike simplicity in everyone.

But still the task is surprisingly difficult. The present image of socialism is the product of a historical process that is at least 100 to 150 years old.

Thus among the difficult to define elements of our concept of socialism we can find living motifs from the independent life of utopian socialism, which became one of the constituent elements of Marxism; deductions about the future society drawn from the analysis of capitalism by Marx and Engels in their time; the theoretical and practical works of Lenin, not least of all the determining theorems deriving from the relationship with the development problems of the underdeveloped countries; but the most important, although drawing sustenance from the above sources, the practical model of socialism realized amid concrete historical relations by the Soviet Union; but this model, too, includes the direct system of war communism and the commodity market distribution system of NEP, or the theoretical-ideological generalizations born of these.

It is an obvious trend, at the same time, that the earlier theoretical constructs of Marxism on the image of socialism which developed by the middle of the 20th century survive largely in the partly reshaped forms of later analyses and of continuing developments; and that every theoretical concept was built into the image of socialism in recent decades to the extent and in the form that it was built into Soviet practice, and what was sifted from the image of socialism is also what fell through the sieve of Soviet experience.

In order to illustrate the characteristic comingling of older and more recent elements, the advance of newer motifs, and the repeated resurrection of older elements, let me quote from the famous work which Engels wrote in 1894 under the title "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" the often-cited lines in which he conceived the basic doctrines of the collectivization of agriculture and established the still valid basic principle of socialist agriculture.

"What then is our position in respect to the small peasantry? And how must we behave toward them when state power passes into our hands?...we cannot think (he put the answer to these questions himself) of expropriation of the small peasants by force (with or without compensation)...Our task, first of all, is that we should lead them with their private farms and property into cooperatives, not with force but by example and by extending social assistance for this goal...And we stand firmly on the side of the small peasants; we can do everything possible to make their lot more bearable, to make their transition to cooperatives easier, if this is what they decide, and if they cannot, let us assure them a longer time for thinking it over on their own parcels."

We well know that although the practice of collectivization deviated very often from this concept of Engels and the assurance of "a longer time for thinking it over on their own parcels" was formulated in our domestic agrarian history only in 1957, the above quoted cooperative principle still was an inalienable part of our socialism image in the middle of the 20th century.

The other half of Engels' thesis regarding the path of the peasantry to socialism was lost without a trace, however, for a long time from the concept of socialism. Two pages after the above quoted passage, Engels continued: "Let us turn now to the peasants with larger holdings...If these peasants want assurance for the survival of their farms, we cannot at all help them...we can do nothing else here either than offer them association of their holdings with cooperative farms...When these peasants see the inevitable dissolution of their mode of production...they will come to us, and it will be our obligation to do everything we can to make their transition easier. Otherwise, we must leave them to their fate and turn toward their hired labor."

The concept for fitting the kulak problem into the image of socialism in the middle of the 20th century, however, did not develop according to the theoretical foundation laid down in "The Peasant Question in France and Germany."

Since the path to collectivization in the Soviet Union was joined in a well-known way and for well-known reasons with the final fight against the rich peasants, "kulak riddance" was for long regarded as an important part of the image of socialism and an accompaniment of collectivization which condemned these once-rich peasants to annihilation not only as a class but as individuals.

We well know that our domestic concept of socialism was also made in this mould at the beginning of the 1950's. In the wake of tragic lessons, the MSZMP changed its rural policy and reevaluated its kulak policy as was rooted in the earlier concept of socialism. This was a new solution which was suffered in history, which not only rejected the fight against the kulak at any cost and not only made simple work and livelihood available, but--depending on local decisions--also made it possible for kulaks to join cooperatives and even become leading officials. And with this, the MSZMP's new concept of socialism suddenly restored into the socialist image the classical position of Marxism formulated by Friedrich Engels.

The characteristic blurring and reshaping of the concepts in the image of socialism formed over a century of time is worth particular attention. Let me illustrate this with further examples, including an element of our image of socialism which had been regarded as valid, so to speak, until yesterday: with the doctrine of particularly rapid growth, which appeared as an inalienable characteristic of socialism. Through careful theoretical-historical tracing we can find the start of this doctrine in the Communist Manifesto: "The proletariat will use its political sovereignty...(we may read) to multiply as rapidly as possible the mass of producer forces."

On the one hand, they regarded this as necessary in order that the new society being born of capitalism might wade as quickly as possible through the temporary relations which follow of necessity a proletarian revolution. On the other hand, they regarded it as possible because they believed--it was Engels who formulated it in his work "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science"--that the development possibilities of the producer forces freed from the ties of the capitalist mode of production would increase to an incredible degree. "Their release from these ties (we can read) is the single precondition for an increasingly more rapid rate of development and at the same time for a practically unlimited increase in production."

Lenin saw the requirement for rapid economic growth differently: at the time of the revolution that was at hand in backward Russia, it became obvious to him that "either we die, or we overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries." It was under the sign of this thought that rapid growth became the leading motif in the socialist transformation that was taking place in the more backward Central and East European countries, and a value priority was linked to its essence. In an article written for PRAVDA in February 1931 and entitled "On the Tasks of the Economic Leaders," Stalin

wrote his famous lines; "For 50 to 100 years we have lagged behind the advanced countries. We must make this distance up in 10 years. Either we make it up or they will trample us." Also in the same place: "To brake the rate of speed is the same as to lag behind. They beat whoever lags behind." But this recognition born in a specific historical threat and marking with prophetic accuracy, so to speak, the 10-year gap 10 years before the attack by Hitler, grew for Stalin into a general theory. From here it is only a fast, single step to raising to prominence the concept of rapid growth as an expression of the superiority belonging to the essence of socialism.

A similar situation exists with the other essential constituent element of the image of socialism. The study of capitalist relations made it clear to Marx and Engels that the socialization of production, the great expansion of its dimensions and organization, not only contradicts the private character of property and acquisition, but also makes planning on a social scale indispensable. "With handling like this according to the finally recognized producer forces of today," writes Engels in his work entitled "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," "planned social regulation will step in the place of social production anarchy in accordance with the needs of every man. After the proletarian revolution and by virtue of the producer means freed from their capitalist character, social production according to a prior established plan will become possible."

Thus if the requirement for planning is characteristic of the image of socialism from the beginning, a concrete form of plan economy was not only undeveloped for a long time, but in the first period of Soviet power, linked with Lenin's practical economic political activity, it appeared in a number of variants, most convincingly in the well-known, long term electrification plan (GOELRO). With industrialization strained to the maximum in a war economy medium, in the turn between the 1920's and 1930's, planning developed into a characteristic, strongly centralized system controlled by direct instructions.

It was in this environment and interrelationship that a concrete system of planning evolved in which the central plan instructions are broken down by sub-branches, enterprises, workshops and work benches, the five-year targets by the year, quarter of a year, months and 10 days, and in which by striving to eliminate the "accidental" they exclude the market and market prices to the maximum degree, and in which the plan--to use Stalin's words--is "not a plan prophecy, not plan guessing but plan direction." A plan economy philosophy conceived in concrete historical circumstances but formed at last as the one possible theoretical model of socialist planning lived for a long time with extraordinary strength in the image of socialism for the past quarter of a century.

I believe the above examples carry a truth of general validity. Many elements were mingled into the image of socialism in the mid-20th century. We may regard as determining the inventory of our deductions as conceived from the "Communist Manifesto," but still this had its effect rather with the mediation of generalized doctrines from the experience of the socialist transformation. In the Soviet experience, however, an immediate answer had to be given to every social, economic and cultural question that appeared. These answers,

these practical solutions had to be born, of course, only in the medium of characteristic and concrete historical relations, and these solutions carried their sign. The continuous processes of Russian history determined these signs with class struggles intensifying to particular keenness after the victorious revolution in a single isolated country, truths that were reduced to black and white, and the process of transformation begun in the medium of an illiterate, backward peasant country.

But it also indispensably belongs to the characterization of the image of socialism that in addition to the theoretical deductions drawn from the capitalist development processes and doctrines deriving from the historical experience of socialist transformation, the utopian elements relevant to later communism are characteristically turned back in.

The characteristic blurring of the socialism-communism image also has a number of sources and causes. One of the most natural causes is the desire of the masses for social justice and morality which comes into natural conflict with the historically possible justice and morality of socialism. This is exactly what gives the utopians their stubborn strength of life. In 1877, Engels stated, "The outlook of the utopians prevailed for long in the views of 19th century socialism, and in part still prevails today." We can add without exaggeration that after more than a century we can at present quote this statement without change. Under this guise there may crop up from time to time the views which proclaim "the general asceticism and harsh equality," as the Communist Manifesto put it, of the primitive revolutionary literature accompanying the first movements of the proletariat. But in this way, again to quote Marx and Engels--"their positive doctrines regarding the future society, which, for example, call for the elimination of the contradictions between the city and the village, the family, private earnings and proclaim the harmony of society," have vigorously survived.

The realistic concept of socialism which profoundly influenced Leninist thinking also in the 1920's and led to taking into account market relations became after a decade essentially transformed with the policy of accelerated growth. The two periods of socialism which in the concept of Marx or Lenin were separated by an entire historical era came closer and closer to each other so that finally the realization of communism was shortened by arm's breadth, so to speak. This concept was fixed for a relatively long time as is indicated by such theoretical and practical initiatives in the turn from the 1950's to the 1960's which not only called for overtaking and leaving behind the most developed capitalist countries in production, productivity and living standards with the closing of the gap among the East European countries themselves, but between 1960 and 1980 they also treated the realization of communism as a concrete practical goal.

The image of socialism became saturated with unrealistic elements, with ideal images of justice and full well-being, the individual released in the collective. "Mobile goals" someone may maintain. "Harmless fantasizing"--another may say. But neither is right. The fantasies conflicted of necessity with a reality which in a more severe medium became demagoguery giving birth to vexing cynicism as they were stubbornly spread with their empty slogans. With these

fantasies there were at the same time always some who from time to time desire to use force in practice, who in opposition to their own efforts desire with their own doctrinaire thinking to "make the masses happy" and make the economy function, and so forth.

It was precisely in substance that theory, which had turned into dogma, came into conflict with the original concept, the deep historicity of Marxism. On this latter observation, let me quote the following lines from a letter written by Friedrich Engels in a letter of 1890: "There has been a debate in the VOLKSTRIEBE over how distribution will take place in the future society, according to the amount of work done, or by some other means (wrote Engels). As a matter of fact, neither side recalled that the mode of distribution still depends essentially on how much must be distributed, and this is something that changes with the development of social organization, that is, mode of distribution must also change. But the participants in the debate do not perceive a 'socialist society' as something which is in constant change and has a mode of distribution that is forever fixed."

It assumed its form in the wake of a long historical process, and it is an image of socialism which is by no means unified and which since the middle of the 20th century has become fixed in a concept that is rather stable. It was, therefore, at one and the same time the guideline for social transformation, the guide for action on the historical experience that was formed into a theory, and an attitudinal system raised to general validity of action stemming from characteristic historical conditions. It included at one and the same time the recognition of real historical necessity as well as the elements of distant ideas and utopian fantasies.

The norm system of the image of socialism which cannot be defined exactly, contains a considerable number of changing elements but is still stabilized came into confrontation in domestic reality, with that social action which in itself proceeded from the principles of socialism and sought for solutions that are adjusting to reality, and in doing this it went back to earlier, forgotten principles of socialism, or with the analysis of new conditions it strove to develop new elements. The debates arose from this basic situation, more exactly this is what gave an ideological base to the debates that were interwoven with the interest system, which developing around the concept of socialism accompanied the decades of the recent past.

6691

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SOCIETY DEBATES THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 1 Apr 82 p 9

[Article by Katalin Vikol: "The Sociology of Knowledge: Debate of the Hungarian Sociological Society"]

[Text] Hungarian sociology has achieved in the past 15 years important successes in structural descriptions of our society, in familiarizing us with class and sub-class relations, surveying the operations of various social organizations (school, health and economy). Publishing houses have put out one sociological classic after another, and the ELTE [Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences] Sociological Faculty and the Marxist-Leninist Night University have started professionally trained sociologists on their careers. And still, there are blank areas: descriptive works which strive for objectivity have become impersonal, they have failed to include the description of actual human activity, the everyday world, the medium where interest becomes value, information becomes knowledge and social resolution becomes the conditions for action.

The Hungarian Sociological Society sought to absolve one of the debts of Hungarian sociological research when it devoted on 24 March an entire day's session to the sociology of knowledge. Interest in the subject is shown by the fact that about 100 persons appeared in the auditorium of the Social Science Institute. Tibor Huszar, faculty chairman and university professor, judged research in the social life of values, knowledge, beliefs and convictions one of the most important tasks of our scientific life, pointing out that amid more difficult economic circumstances and politically consolidated relations a sociological attitude is inadequate which is bent on studying society with the objectivity of the natural scientists. Therefore, in the coming years it will be necessary to research more intensely the active resultant forces of society, that consciousness which not only reflects social reality but in a certain sense also creates it, namely, in the many-colored refracted light of classes, sub-classes, groups, traditions and values. Without studying the phenomena of consciousness from the sociological point of view we cannot develop conditions of confidence to the desired degree, and our survey of the faith placed in institutions and the prospects of action guided by values will suffer damage.

In his lecture, Zsolt Papp discussed the circumstances of the birth of the sociology of knowledge. Karl Mannheim (who started out together with Gyorgy Lukacs, Arnold Hauser and Karoly Tolnay in the Sunday Circle) published in Germany in 1928 his lecture "The Importance of Competition in the Field of Intellectual Life," which was followed by a great debate. The debate concentrated on the question of the relationship of Mannheim and Marxism, but the raising of the question itself, that is, what kind of relationship exists between the phenomena of consciousness and the social interests that form their base is still a key motif of the sociology of knowledge. The value crisis of German society following the war formed the social soil which was the basis for raising the question of the sociology of knowledge.

In the 1930's, Alfred Schutz published his work "The Phenomenological Structure of Society" (*Der sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt*), which evoked no reaction in its time, and only in the 1950's did it become the starting point for that trend of the sociology of knowledge which made everyday life the basis of studies on society. In the 1960's, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann published their book "The Social Formation of Reality," which at the cost of some eclecticism summarized the trends in the sociology of knowledge from Mannheim to the trends that undertook a sociological-psychological study of everyday life.

Robert Angelusz emphasized on the basis of the question raised by the sociology of knowledge the fact that studies increasingly show there is no exact correspondence between class, sub-class and group conformations and consciousness formations. The sociology of knowledge does not deal with the problem of what is true and what is false in the various beliefs, opinions, and attitudes but rather it seeks to know what people do or do not recognize as their interests, why they believe in false maxims of consciousness, why they follow ideological teachings with false substance of reality. According to Angelusz, social stratification is as inseparable from the processes of currents between sub-classes, and from the movements within and among the generations as from the consciousness of people who change sub-classes. But being embedded in the facts of social stratification is not the only characteristic of the social phenomena of consciousness; they also show active movement "from soul to soul" with which research deals in social communication, mass orientation, public opinion and publicity. As the lecturer affirmed: the meaning of the reference group is that where the three factors--social stratification, social change of place, and social communication--appear together, they represent the basic factors for raising questions on the sociology of knowledge. Namely, reference group is that group to which people, not unconditionally, belong on the basis of objective criteria; but it is these groups that count as the standard of their deeds, thoughts, values and norms. Thus we need social research which, besides taking into account objective specifics, extend to subjective ideas, self-classification, the desired place of belonging; and thus in this way facts which are traditionally regarded as "subjective" can have an "objective" standing.

In his lecture Gyorgy Scepeli dealt with the problem area of everyday life or with the second range of the knowledge of sociology emphasized by Zsolt Papp. Essentially he stated that everyday life can serve as one kind of medium between

the objective movements of society described by sociology and history and the psychological plane dealing with a world not even conscious for the individual himself. Everyday life is the active terrain of the individual where with the means made available to him by society--language, values, models for information acquisition--man can make at once an individual and at the same time a social world, which is called "life-world" after the German philosopher Husserl. The mass of restless, avid individuals created by modern social development finds itself in the uniform of everyday life. This approach puts into parenthesis, therefore, the "hard" social factors which form and define man, but the placement within parentheses is temporary, and serves altogether only to reveal the secrets of man's active, conscientious and intended tempo of leading his life, in order that after the conclusion of the study he is placed back in his historical and social specifics, and it is possible to have a more exact picture of him. According to Csepel, everyday life stands under the power of symbols which on one hand are circumscribed by the unconscious deep world--covered by false significations and fog--and on the other hand by the forces of the social-economic-historical area of mobility which are unapproachable to the individual's insight.

Two speakers also affirmed very convincingly the productive relationship between sociology-social psychology, which researches the phenomena of everyday life, and ethnography-folklore. Mihaly Sarkany reviewed the question of the sociology of knowledge by discussing a single striking problem. He dealt with a socially formed, characteristic reality. Peter Niedermuller, on the other hand, said that although it has for long been doubtful that under folklore we must understand exclusively the cultural products of peasantry with an aesthetic value, it has been exactly the theoretical and methodological research of everyday life of the sociology of knowledge that has served the main proof for the untenableness of this view. With knowledge of these things--according to the speaker--we must today interpret folklore as belonging to a much wider area of phenomena: we must regard as properly belonging here the culture of all classes, groups, and sub-classes kept out of political, ideological economic, and cultural power. In the final lecture, Agnes Kapitany and Gabor Kapitany reported on an interesting experiment. For 2 years they occupied themselves with the workers of a large factory with the goal of teaching them to understand their world better by acquiring certain aesthetic knowledge and by living the conflicts of their life circumstances with greater consciousness.

In the discussion which followed the lectures, Tibor Huszar emphasized the idea of Zsolt Papp, the opening speaker, that the sociology of knowledge must also be explained from a social basis: knowledge, the relativity of values, and ideology always become doubtful when an earlier rapid development slows down, consolidated relations follow, and quantitative development is forced to yield its place to qualitative development. The discussion leader, in reacting to Rober Angelusz, expressed the view that in the present situation we cannot leave the nation out of consideration as a reference group because it can be at one and the same time that which increases social confidence and understanding, but if the national consciousness turns to the past, if it is the consciousness of nostalgias and painful memories that cannot soar above historical wrongs then it becomes retrograde as it withdraws from constructive factors. In the study of everyday life, he emphasized the importance of historical and social concreteness, otherwise the everyday life becomes an

unhistorical, empty construct of the "general man" which dims the vision of social science.

Aliz Matyas spoke out against relating folklore with subcultures; he took exception to the discounting by Peter Niedermuller of the autonomy of peasant culture and its creative artistic power. Balint Suranyi said in the debate that the problems of the sociology of knowledge are "eternal problems," and when they become matters of consciousness and scientific discussions it can be linked to eras when belief in rapid progress and quantitative development is weakened. Tibor Huszar agreed in this with Suranyi, but emphasized that scientific ideas have their own internal development logic and undoubtedly Hungarian sociology owes a debt with the introduction of the sociology of knowledge and its constructive application.

In his concluding remarks, Tibor Huszar indicated that hopefully the exchange of ideas on this subject would continue, and on the following occasion with the participation of historians, science historians, economists or art philosophers we will learn even more about certain phenomena of knowledge and consciousness, the system of norms regulating weekday and holiday behavior, style, legislation, taste, or scientific thinking.

6691

CSO: 2500/208

SZSP PRESS SPOKESMAN INTERVIEWED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Apr 82 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Jan Garlicki, press spokesman of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] by Ewa Wilk: "We Do Not Want To Be Monopolists"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The SZSP's start in a new stage of activity is surely not easy. Throughout all of last year there was a shower of complaints that the organization was window-dressing, that instead of looking after the students' interests, it served only careerists as a rung in their climb on the ladder of positions. Let us not conceal also that even after 13 December voices could be heard questioning the sense of resuming the activities of the union in their previous form...

[Answer] Indeed, the opinion that the SZSP is a compromised organization was, and still is, being heard in the academic milieu. We have been reproached with being too strongly connected with the authorities in the 1970s. It has been suspected that the fundamental goal of the organization was to channel the students' moods and consequently to preserve the existing status quo in the schools and in the nation. We were the only youth organization active in schools of higher education, and that led to monopolization of all spheres of student activity. We do not propose to justify or to explain the mistakes of the SZSP. It is true that we could be reproached with not being very effective in defending the students' interests. However, it is also true that we did a great deal, at least in the sphere of social life. The SZSP changed very much in the past academic year. We introduced many changes in the working of the union; among such changes we acknowledged an openness in outlook on life that went beyond the statutory principle of the union. I think that we became an independent and inquiring organization.

It should also be admitted that careerists clustered in the organization before September 1980 and treated it as a sort of "trampoline" in their own life's journey. When I look at the students with whom I have worked lately, however, I find it difficult to point to one who might be furthering a career. Rather, performing duties in the SZSP has brought them problems, sometimes the antipathy of part of the scientific milieu or personnel.

[Question] You were also reproached with wasting money. Various camps or groupings which were for the so-called active members and about which stories circulated were especially poorly received in the student milieu...

[Answer] The majority of the undertakings we organized are information camps for "zero" year, tourist, scientific, and sports camps. Throughout all the years of our activity they have been undertakings accessible to everyone. Last year we did not even initiate a priority for SZSP members in recruiting for these camps. Meanwhile we are indeed organizing a sort of "higher school of driving" for our cadre. But conditions at the camps for the cadre have not been at all better than conditions at other camps. The quantitative ratio between the tourist, scientific and information camps and the instruction camps for the cadre is 20 to 1.

[Question] Your cadre enjoys considerable privileges, however. At least the number of full-time jobs testifies to that.

[Answer] It is a misunderstanding to speak today of the privileges of the SZSP cadre. Rather, one can speak of responsibilities and burdens. Among the privileges exactly one has remained—that of satisfaction, which is, moreover, difficult to attain. At present we administer 553 full-time jobs for all of Poland, of that over half are full-time jobs for workers of the finance section and administration (for example, drivers and maids). And the finance cadre of SZSP serves the majority of the undertakings in the nation organized by the student milieu. On the whole, we have few full-time jobs for so-called essential workers, or those occupied with organizing programmatic activity, or performing duties from choice.

[Question] The organization administers fairly large funds. Aside from the subsidies from the state, you make a profit in the student clubs, the activity of which has for some years been limited almost exclusively to discotheques with unbelievably expensive tickets and prices in small cafes which match the prices in night clubs.

[Answer] It is difficult for me to speak about the budget for this year, since I still do not know how much money we are receiving. The activity of the SZSP, however, is two-thirds supported on funds generated by the organization itself. The clubs operate on a self-financing principles; that means that the money coming from the profitable discotheques is designated for less profitable undertakings, for example, record exchanges, writers' evenings and also poetry evenings, and especially the activity of creative groups. On the other hand, the buffets in the larger clubs have in considerable part been turned over to agencies—thus the clubs' high prices. In order to restore our funds, we came out even before 13 December with an initiative to begin economic activity. We undertook attempts to obtain an agreement for opening secondhand bookshops and for conducting exchanges, publishing activities, a legal advisory office, and so forth.

[Question] Let us turn then to the plans for your activity. You are once more the only student organization. I would guess that that makes your work considerably easier.

[Answer] We do not want to be monopolists, we do not aspire to be the students' only representative. We realize, however, that for some time we will be the only organization capable to some kind of broader activity. The launching of the SZSP cannot mean that the shape of the student movement has been set once and for all. The decision about the SZSP's resumption of activity does not mean the end of discussion about the model for that movement. On the other hand, until that model has been worked out, the SZSP has the responsibility to preserve the whole achievement of the cultural, intellectual, and also material movement of the students, and that means even from the time of the Association of Polish Students.

In addition to us the Rural Youth Union is also active in the student milieu, and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] intends to undertake activity. There exists the traditional strong, self-governed movement of student houses. As like as not, the activity of the ZMD [Union of Democratic Youth] will resume. Thus in time the number of partners in the schools will grow.

[Question] How do you intend to attract people?

[Answer] We have an obligation to implement further the resolutions of the Third SZSP Congress. We do not intend to resign from political activity, understood as discussion on the present situation and the future of the nation. We will resume the activity of the centers of political work, and we would like also to stimulate the movement of the social sciences and encourage scientific circles to take up themes essential for Poland at present. The most important matter for us is forming the outward appearance of the higher school and working on the statute on higher education. We will continue to participate in the sessions of the Sejm's Commission of Science and Technical Progress. We want to present student opinions and the organization's earlier elaborated position on its forum. We also want the organization to become a place of intellectual development. We want to support a cultural, scientific, journalistic movement. We are trying to give assistance to young people's creative and artistic groups. In addition to that, we will organize student free time in a traditional way, especially in such areas as tourism and sports.

[Question] Those are just slogans. What do you have "in the works" that is definite? What do you want to do for people?

[Answer] I believe that the most important task for us today is involvement with student social affairs. Along with the increase in prices, the material conditions of our fellow students have worsened. Thus on the strength of our own project, we intend to become involved with the formation of a new student stipend system and with questions of graduates' employment. We will endeavor to have the new stipend system be socially fair and at the same time beneficial to the students. We have worked out our own project for the system of graduates' employment. We are of the opinion that good training during one's studies should be rewarded with a good job and good pay.

We want to open an information bank on the possibilities of finding employment consistent with education, to organize an employment exchange, to make an analysis of comparative conditions in the life start of graduates of higher schools in various regions of the nation, and to cooperate in creating possibilities for qualifying for a new job. We have formed "Absolwent," a National Council of Work Cooperatives. These cooperatives are to enable unemployed graduates of higher schools to find a paying job consistent with their education. The Student Association of Housing Construction, which will assume patronage of the small housing cooperatives, acts under our sponsorship. It will be something like their assistant and advisor (it will maintain contacts with building firms, give legal advice, and so forth). But above all we will endeavor to attend to the students' everyday problems. Discipline in studying has been intensified. This has led to the elimination of traditional freedom, a fact which in turn creates a problem for us—assisting students to surmount the obstacle thereby raised. These are important problems, and they are difficult to resolve.

9451

CSO: 2600/492

REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF VOIVODSHIP AUDIT COMMISSIONS' AKTIV HELD

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 26-27-28 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by krc]

[Text] Yesterday at the PZPR/KK [Central Committee] the regional conference of the PZPR Audit Commission's aktiv from the following six voivodships was held: Bielsko, Katowice, Kielce, Krakow, Tarnow and Nowy Sacz. The goal of this conference was that the rebirth of the party be accompanied by control over and consistency in the implementation of resolutions, as well as by reckoning with duties at every level.

The conference, which was conducted by Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Audit Commission [CRK], included participation by members of the CKR Presidium--Stanislaw Blezien, Leonard Grymel and Marian Stoklosa--and members of the CKR Plenum, the chairman, deputy chairman, bureau heads and aktiv of the Voivodship Audit Commissions [WKR] of the six voivodships. The secretary of the KK [Krakow Committee] Jan Bronied, greeted participants in the name of the Krakow echelon and related the goals and activity of this echelon. Opening the meeting, Morawski stated, "It would be good if, as a result of today's discussion, we could develop a system to increase the efficiency of control activities." Jozef Oleksy, director of the CKR Bureau, presented problems of the audit commissions, concentrating on the following: the need to struggle toward a real understanding of the party line after the Seventh Plenum, especially tasks emanating from its resolution; the restoration among members of a sense of responsibility for the party; the revitalization of authentic, nonroutine political work; the restoration of the subjective role to Basic Party Organizations [POP]; the struggle over a new operational style for the party, echelon and POP; the search for ways to renew contact with working masses; the role of the party with regard to the state and society; and the need to bring the party cause to society. He also discussed problems and intraorganizational issues concerning the work of revision commissions at all levels.

The discussion treated many subjects and a wealth of problems and questions. Speakers included Antoni Hajdecki, chairman of the Krakow Audit Commission. He stated "We must be extremely conscientious in listening to the voices of party members; we must attach real importance to implementing the recommendations and demands made at meetings. The implementation of these recommendations

and demands guarantees that party organizations regain authority and trust" Henryk Krzyzak, chairman of the Tarnow WRK, said, "The input of every member into the party program and activity is the implementation of the recommendations and demands he made at the meeting of his own organization. If they are not implemented, many members lose faith in the idea of voicing them--and then how can we speak of activism?" Wladyslaw Bulka, chairman of the Bielsko-Biala WRK, said, "Much depends on the work of POP's and plant audit commissions, for it is among the workers that the wisdom of the party lies. It is there that opinions are formed and it is there that one may learn what is being thought and said about the party"

Summarizing the deliberations, OXR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski, addressing the variety of problems discussed, emphasized the need to create the habit of control and self-control throughout the entire party. Approximately 25,000 activists work in society at all levels of party control. We must help party echelons and organizations to fulfill the duties to which they have been appointed. Control and suggestions relevant to such control offer concrete assistance. Thus, let us execute our statutory tasks systematically and openly. We must make party members and the POP aware of their supervisory rights; i.e., how they are to act so that their recommendations are not ignored. Not every recommendation must be right, but every recommendation must evoke a response. Our role in the PZPR is to create a party for those who are reasonably dissatisfied.

8536

CSO: 2600/479

SOCIOPOLITICAL SUBJECTS TEACHING FORMULA DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Waldemar J. Szczepanski: "On a New Higher School Model--Good Citizenship Education of Students"]

[Text] In the continuing discussion of a higher school model, the dispute over the system of training the future Polish intelligentsia in good citizenship, particularly the new formula for teaching sociopolitical subjects, is essential.

The model inherited from the 1970's had its good points. During 4 years of studies, the time spent on these subjects amounted to 270 to 360 hours. That constituted 10 to 12 percent of all studies, about as much as in higher schools of other socialist countries and schools in many West European countries.

System Weaknesses

The weakness of this system was the lack of differentiating programs by the types of schools and fields of study. Only toward the end of the 1970's were such efforts made, particularly with social sciences (e.g., agricultural policy problems were developed in agricultural schools, and learning relative to the ideological premises of technocracy, and managerial and convergence doctrines in engineering colleges). However, the principal deficiencies resulted from an "instrumental" treatment of these subjects and their instructors by the authorities.

Efforts were made to subordinate teaching methods, particularly of social sciences, to immediate propaganda tasks and to the justification of sometimes conflicting political decisions. Following unification of the student movement, an effort was made to compensate for the Socialist Union of Polish Students lack of political activity through the propagandistic nature of teaching sociopolitical subjects. This placed the staff in the position of a "fire-brigade," opposed to the students, and lowered its prestige. Conflict grew between the staff and students on the acceptance of Marxism and its identification with the bureaucratic-technocratic practices of political life.

The best defense against these practices was honest Marxist academic reflection on sociopolitical and economic phenomena. Marxist methodology and the Marxist theory of social development at that time appeared--in contrast to

"Marxism from the front pages of newspapers"--as a useful tool for the recognition and interpretation of reality. In defending the academic nature of these subjects, most of the staff were introducing theoretical fragments and disseminating the latest studies from the realm of Marxist political theory. This did not take place without dropping into learnedness, which was to have constituted a natural--though, of course, not the best--defense against the "propaganda of success" being imposed.

After September 1980, all these weaknesses were disputed among students. "Reformers" were immediately found, who began to tell students about the new model of social political sciences "freed of ideology," which had shaken off Marxism in favor of other methodological and ideological orientations.

During the strike of Lodz students, these advisors worked for the practical elimination of teaching those subjects. They were successful only in having some demands included in the so-called Lodz agreements. Solutions that, with the good will of both parties, actually could promote good citizenship training, were also found. On the other hand, with time, other solutions proved dysfunctional for the upbringing process, particularly because of the broadened interpretation advanced by political opponents whose goals were to drive Marxism from school.

Thus, the system for teaching about the mechanisms of social life, which can be acquired honestly only within the framework of a certain cohesive block of economic, philosophic and political science subjects, was destroyed.

In its place appeared dozens of detailed subjects that frequently lacked adequate educational values or academic traditions. The number of hours for these subjects was reduced substantially. So-called humanizing subjects that frequently could only indirectly shape student knowledge of the complex mechanisms of political life, were introduced. Faculty councils began to decide the dimensions and nature of these subjects. Paradoxes appeared. For example, in one university the faculty council of the mathematics department decided that political economy was superfluous to the education of a mathematician. In response to this affront, the faculty council of the economics department determined that mathematical subjects were no longer necessary for training an economist. Elsewhere, the law department decided to eliminate political economy from its program of studies.

Under the slogan of "freedom from ideology," efforts were made last spring to hire as instructors for teaching sociopolitical subjects those who were academic teachers or had no teaching qualifications. Most often they were Committee for the Defense of the Workers, and Confederation for an Independent Poland activists, who were advisors of central or local elements of Solidarity. Academic splendor increased their dignity as political advisors, while the schools were to become a testing ground for trying out the capacity of anti-state slogans.

State Awareness

The decisions of 13 December 1981 created conditions for a peaceful resolution of a system of good citizenship education for students and a compact model of

sociopolitical subjects based on Marxist principles. This cannot be a "before-August" model or the one pressed between August and December.

Good citizenship education should above all be state education. The level of the future Polish intelligentsia's awareness of the state is far removed from that of such groups in other European countries. This weakens the natural, ancillary role that the intelligentsia ought to fill in relation to the people, the state and the working class. This results from a historical, not infrequently contrary, treatment of the state and nation category in our country. This phenomenon deepened as a result of the post-August political experience. At any rate, it merits separate consideration.

The new model of sociopolitical subjects ought to facilitate furnishing students with honest theoretical knowledge about the complex mechanisms of social life, as well as an elementary knowledge of economic laws and politics. Above all the model should be based on clear, univocal axiological principles resulting from the elemental values and standards of Marxist thought and the socialist system--principles that teach the observance of basic rules of social life, of everyday honesty and priority for organizational attitudes. The transmission of these values does not interfere with student philosophic pluralism, because they also find themselves in the social teaching orbit of the Catholic church.

The propagation of these values is not an easy task. The myth of high consumption and easy development inherited after the 1970's and the deceptive day-to-day recipes for rebuilding and healing sociostate structures--something propagated among students in the last 2 years--created a misunderstanding and even an indisposition toward fundamental social values on which modern industrial societies developed. Values, from which citizen obligations toward the state, workplace, and environment emerge directly, are not universally regarded by students as a basic regulator of civic manners--and that also when they are found in the axiological catalogue of Marxism or in the social teaching of the Catholic church.

The new sociopolitical programs should also give rise to reflection on the subject of the external conditioning of Polish statehood and Polish socialism. The post-August months proved that within the framework of the overly rich galaxy of ideas offered, frequently self-proclaimed as socialistic, under Polish conditions have a utopian, antistate and reactionary character.

Reform Directions

The minister of higher schooling, science and technology called the Central Sociopolitical Sciences Teaching-Upbringing Group as an advisory organ for preparing the new model of good citizenship education. The plan being discussed assumes that 300 to 360 hours should be devoted to sociopolitical subjects.

These subjects should have clearly defined cognitive, ideological and citizenship functions. They should be presented in the framework of a compact system of three blocks of obligatory subjects: economic, philosophical and political science subjects, differentiated by types of schools and student fields (cf

study). It would be necessary in each block to isolate the leading disciplines (political economy, Marxist philosophy and political science). Sociological subjects are a debatable matter.

Historical reflection should occupy an important place in this system; e.g., in the form of a separate subject (Polish political history from 1918 to 1980), as well as knowledge about the outside world (international political relations). Discussions are continuing on the scope and sequence of these subjects.

From the critical analysis of experiences following the Lodz agreement, it appears that these subjects should be based on centralized programs but such a framework should fill no more than two-thirds of the time assigned (for studies). The remaining hours would be allocated to schools for their use, in this way considering the particular needs of various types of schools and fields of study. With 5 year studies, optional problems from the theory of culture, esthetics and ethics are anticipated.

The Teaching Staff Decides

This new model of teaching requires staffs of a high teaching level and socialist citizenship commitment. Both criteria should be equally considered in conducting verifications and in selecting staff. Staff is spread throughout the country and represents a strongly differentiated theoretical level, various political experiences and methodological skills. Moreover, in small centers, it comes upon real barriers hampering the natural development of learning. The minister had all this in mind last fall, when he presented a plan to the authorities for creating a departmental institute to improve social science teacher-training staffs. This proposal was approved by the PZPR Central Committee's Commission for Science and Education in January. Early creation of such an institute would strengthen academic standing and ideological-upbringing functioning of those subjects constituting an important element in the student training in good citizenship.

Dr Waldemar J. Szczepanski is the deputy director of the Central Methodological Institute for Political Science Studies in Warsaw.

10433

CSO: 2600/491

ZSMP MEMBERS DISCUSS WAYS TO MOTIVATE YOUTH

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19-21 Mar 82 pp 1, 4, 5

[Interview with Jan Gabor, Presidium member of the ZG [Main Board] of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth, chairman of the ZSMP ZZ [Plant Board] at the NZPS "Podhale" [Nowy Targ "Podhale" Leather Industry Works], Dr Kr Dr Krzysztof Janik, secretary, ZG ZSMP, Malgorzata Piatek, secretary, ZW [Voivodship Board], ZSMP in Wroclaw and Dr Sylwester Wrobel, adjunct at Silesian University, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz from the SZTANDAR MŁODYCH editorial staff; at the 4 March 1982 ZSMP First Ideological Conference; for an earlier interview on this topic see JPRS 80394, 24 March 1982, No 1992 of this series, pp 22-30]

[Text] A discussion participated in by Jan Gabor, Presidium member, ZG ZSMP, chairman, ZZ ZSMP, NZPS "Podhale," Dr Krzysztof Janik, secretary, ZG ZSMP, Malgorzata Piatek, secretary, ZW ZSMP in Wroclaw and Dr Sylwester Wrobel, adjunct at Silesian University. Ryszard Naleszkiewicz represented the editorial staff of SZTANDAR MŁODYCH.

We published the first discussion in this series in the 12 Feb 1982 issue.

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] The ZG plenary meeting, devoted to the ideological aspect of the ZSMP, is approaching. However, it seems that today a major problem is to answer the basic question: What should be done to draw out the youth from the state of apathy and stagnation into which they have fallen? How are they to be convinced of the need for them to participate in saving the country, how are they to be activated positively? If we say that the solution here is ideological instruction, training and propaganda, we arrive at the least risky conclusion. For we are dealing today primarily with the moral-ideological crisis that arose from the great disparity that exists between the beautiful and irresistible theory of socialism and its difficult, unsatisfactory practice in reality in our country.

[Krzysztof Janik] From the outset you posit a thesis, as if you wished to close the discussion. It is a thesis that is correct, to a great extent. At the same time you ask how to activate the youth. However, we must first ascertain why we are in our current situation. I think that in order to activate the youth, we must fulfill several conditions. We must read the current

situation accurately. We must make the proper diagnosis. Then we must develop a vision of Poland in the future and of our Union that is both realistic and attractive. This will be the primary purpose of the Plenum. Further, the evaluation of our current situation--the so-called diagnosis--must consist in large part of the feelings of our members, their impressions and their frustrated and unfulfilled hopes. Perhaps the evaluation at the Main Board level will then be a wiser one.

[Malgorzata Piatek] No so much wiser, as more comprehensive.

[K. Janik] Of course. Then, on the basis of this diagnosis, we must try to create a vision of the Poland in which our generation would like to live. Although we must demand such a vision from the party, it is primarily for our own use that we must first create one ourselves. Only then can we begin to act to implement it. For example, I think that the Union should quickly prepare a program for equalizing urban and rural working and living conditions.

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] Other youth unions have undertaken such sweeping programs with lofty claims and they were flops. A "program for equalizing conditions" is very legitimate, as you have said. It is so legitimate, that if the ZSMP announces it, it is obvious that it will not execute it. Such equalization needs billions for investments in culture, clubs, theaters and books. You are becoming carried away with a lofty slogan, over which they will later reckon with you.

[K. Janik] I did not make myself clear. I am speaking of a program of Union activities on this matter. Of course we must shun overly pompous claims so that later we will not be forced to reckon with something we cannot do. Besides, acting is not only sending workers out to rural areas to help; it is also a way of thinking, it is summarizing ideas for others and exhorting and struggling with authorities at all levels. The issue of equalizing educational opportunities for youth from various backgrounds....

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] But this will again take place "at the top." The ZSMP leadership will demand sweeping solutions from the party and the government, for it will not establish schools itself, nor will it pay teachers or act as a substitute for the ministry.

[K. Janik] But we are in a position to do something. The idea of a "library for young people" in large factories crosses my mind, the idea of making this universal.

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] There was such a library--the NOWA WIES book clubs--and it did not work out. There was no paper, no funds and orders were not implemented. And all of the ministers of culture recognized that it was a marvelous idea, to which they gave their support.

[K. Janik] This does not mean that we should not try. However, it is possible to give real help to young people in a simpler way. For example, by securing literature for children that would please their parents. Perhaps we could begin to print tales in WALKA MŁODYCH. I shall have to think about this. Besides, thinking about forms is not my job alone.

[Sylwester Wrobel] This is a major weakness of our youth newspaper. The ZSMP, like its predecessors, focuses primarily on making revisions. The youth organization receives prepared folk material that is already set up and ready for "polishing." The ZHP [Polish Scout Union] receives it for 7-year olds and 8-year olds, and you do for the teenagers. Meanwhile, the problem of preparing people for social life really begins at birth. According to psychologists, a child acquires his basic character traits from birth until age three. Thus, the character of a 7-year old is already essentially formed, as are his temperament and personality traits. The problem is always the same: parents who are ill-prepared for life prepare their offspring poorly for it. We are dealing with a definite duplication of generations. The Union does not influence the family during the child's early developmental years. The Union does not exercise influence on the parents.

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz] The thesis of the duplication of generations is as catastrophic as the vicious circle. It is a wonder that despite such theories their world is somewhat different today than it was during the paleolithic period.

[S. Wrobel] There is a certain beauty in your rancour, but it cannot change research. Changes in upbringing can be accelerated, however, by influencing parents. This does not mean only social influence. It is good that there are loans for young married couples and leaves from work for these couples and the like. However, the problem of teaching young parents how to bring up their very young children is a more important problem. Hence, the idea of publishing tales in WALKA MŁODYCH is for me a vital issue!

[M. Piatek] In my opinion, what we consider should lead from the question of how to activate the young. We place too much emphasis on negation and passivity. Meanwhile, now as never before young people have the opportunity to shape their fortunes independently in the future. Today there is no wise man in Poland who can predict what will happen here in 5 or 10 years. Hundreds of plans and concepts collide with each other. In general, however, no vision exists.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Then, in your opinion, is there a gap for the Union to fill, as long as it is done quickly?

[M. Piatek] Only as a political force--we should not aim too far into the future. We must emerge with a very concrete program of activities for the present. We must demonstrate that it is possible to act now. During the past 16 months the youth have undergone an accelerated political education; views have become radicalized in terms of demands. Loans and housing for young married couples are being demanded. We should transform this activism which makes demands into creative activism. Sooner or later people will have to realize that 36 million people will not be going to the West for "seasonal labor," to earn dollars. Whether we like it or not, we will simply have to exist in our reality. We must show young people that the way in which one arranges one's immediate surroundings and the mechanisms operative within these surroundings depend upon their activism.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] There is much idealism and a great deal of generality in this statement. The demands that "they must," "they should" and "we must" neither solve anything nor activate anyone.

[M. Piatek] Let me attempt an example. Our Union plays somewhat of a dual role in the economic reform. First, there is the necessity of supporting the reform as objectively indispensable for the country and, consequently, for all. The alternative of returning to old patterns of acting does not exist. Our second role consists of defending the young against the consequences of reform as we support it. They are the weakest economically, and thus are hit hardest by price increases; they are the least experienced workers, and the first to be laid off. Consequently, we must demonstrate the place of the generation in the reform in practice, at the same time struggling against those mechanisms of reform that are antisocial in their effects. This is bringing home in practice what "socialist" means. We break our necks to get small cooperatives, single-family housing and "patronage" housing, but we must realize that these are merely emergency measures, desperate attempts to alleviate current tensions. Only a socialist program of housing construction can really resolve the issue in full.

We must make young people aware that socialism is not based exclusively upon the relationship to ownership of the means of production, but is embodied primarily in the exchange of goods, in distribution of the products of labor. In today's enterprise, operating on the basis of the three "S's," [independence, self-government, self-financing, T.N.], the sense of the word "socialist" for me is embodied in the possibility of affecting the distribution of profit, product prices and the like. Today's priorities are housing and protection of those who are weakest--young married couples and pensioners. If the union in a plant is effective regarding these matters, young people will become active, because they will be brought to trust.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] I repeat, the thesis of this discussion is how to make them want to become active.

[M. Piatek] We do this by creating the mechanisms of young people's participation in the distribution of manufactured goods.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] That tells me little. What mechanisms?

[M. Piatek] The mechanisms of self-governing action in plants.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Ah, the key word. For the mechanism to act, it must be set in motion. Meanwhile, the majority of young people do not wish to join.

[M. Piatek] That is not true. It is enough that a part does not want to join. It is enough to demonstrate that it is possible to struggle effectively. Then the rest will come out of self-interest. They will clash to the bitter end. We must act similarly at the levels of the local self-government. Here also, actions taken in the sphere of goods distribution should direct funds primarily toward public construction for those who are eking out a living, for young married couples.

[Jan Gabor] The example of my city, Nowy Targ, shows how very unsocialized we still are. It is a city of great contrasts. Next to the magnificent villas of millionaire-parvenus from America, we literally have poverty. Meanwhile, young people see--we have founded our own youth cooperative--that we are struggling against difficulties, small brickworks are idle, and alongside them condescendingly stand the great, empty, magnificent houses, closed with a flimsy latch and protected by our laws. They see that the social means for creating goods--bricks, cement and wood--have been wasted here. In our opinion, the most important canons of the socialist distribution of goods have been broken. Such is the practical lesson of socialist ideology.

Other contradictions are on the increase today. Rural areas continue to receive guarantees of the inviolability of land and of the expansion of farms to 100 hectares. However, there is a shortage of construction sites for our cooperative, as there is throughout the city. The current land law is a disaster. If a new one is introduced, people will really have no place to live. This is a field for the political action of the Union.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] However, specialists maintain that in order to live one must first have something to eat. Private farms provide the cheapest and quickest production.

We are beginning to get away from the central issues. Meanwhile we need an answer to the questions, "what are we to do?" and "how are we to do it?" We cannot provide a conclusive definition for everything. This would be detrimental, for life is changing too fast. However, we must have one primary ideological concept, based on which we could at least answer what we firmly oppose. What we support is something we can implement in hundreds of ways.

[J. Gabor] The practical lesson of socialism is most important. It is in the enterprise that affects the distribution of goods that the socialization of young people takes place. At our plant, the NZPS "Podhale," according to the first version of the plan the head of the social commission allocated 300,000 zlotys for credits for young married couples. We brought him around to our priority, convincing him that the 100 young married couples we have must be the first to receive credits. So 600,000 zlotys were allocated. He became convinced by social arguments--for we were not struggling for Union members alone. This is how ideology is tested in practical action.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] As long as young people are told that this is how ideology is tested in practice.

[K. Janik] The party, our Union and several other institutions make it their business to speak of and implement such things.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] That sounds optimistic.

[K. Janik] Perhaps, even too optimistic. I refer to Malgorzata's [Platek] statement. Her reasoning is logically correct. In practice, several factors must be added--e.g., the emotional factor. The truth is such that the emotions are not with us. In many cases, they are against us. Today's reality is not readily adaptable to ideology. Private stores, boutiques, new prices, the housing situation and the like.

[S. Wrobel] During the past 16 months, young people have asked thousands of questions which have gone unanswered. Emotions are against us, but if we are the first to answer these questions, they will be with us.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Is this not overly simplified, mathematically calculated optimism? Mathematics, for the most part, falls short where emotions are concerned.

[S. Wrobel] Let me give an example. It is number 5 in the notebook "Correctives From History." It appeared during a conference of the aktiv and then vanished. It is being read not only by people from the organization. Our generation feels a real need to learn about current events. In giving answers to difficult questions, we lend ourselves credibility. This gives us a chance to express our ideology.

[M. Platek] We cannot silence people; we may not cloud their emotions. We will have to assail, to struggle with the bureaucracy, but we must reach young people by showing them that this is possible, that their doubts regarding reality and their risks taken in the name of positive change are purposeful and sensible.

[K. Janik] Let us return to the doubts of the discussion leader that by formulating programs we can assume the burden of unexecuted tasks, that without governmental decisions nothing can be done. This is not true. The mess in Poland today has its advantages. Many things are possible, if one really wants them. There are no impossible tasks, there are only people who do not know how to execute them.

[S. Wrobel] Let us not exaggerate this slogan! One must have the means!

[R. Naleszkiewicz] The ZMP [Polish Youth Union] and the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth] in turn were led down a blind alley by using the motto "Things are so bad that we can do anything," and the ZSMP may reach the same point. First you publish something, advertise, exhort, mobilize people and inflame them, then the lack of a possibility empties their heads of the hogwash.

[K. Janik] I relate this motto to the local situation, to the small matters in life which are the most burdensome, the efficient resolution of which is the most readily and most keenly evident. Large-scale, total policy often is made quietly, with compromise and without being advertised. But there is the example of the notebooks from "Correctives From History."

There are so many things, formerly impossible, to be resolved today that one does not have room in his head for all of them. But we must give over such thinking to the circles, directing it outside the Union, toward general social goals.

Speaking in general of a vision of the future activity of the Union, we must set it up so that it fits the level of the circle, so that it activates it and is attractive to it.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] All of your predecessor organizations spoke constantly of activating their basic cells, circles and operational groups. Programs, books, the work of the circle and slogans were devised--e.g., "the circle--a collective of friends" and the like. And the entire time in our organizations the circle was not the basic element but the weakest one.

[M. Platek] Much has changed of late. People and circles have become seasoned both in political struggle and in battling against the adversities of their material fortunes. The number of circles has been reduced, but those that remain are activated more readily than they once were. They need only be persuaded that they can be activated, that their work is both effective and necessary. We do not wish to activate them from above toward priority goals. We wish to help them prove themselves.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] If the circle, then the plant organization as well. I posit the thesis: as is the party locally, so are the ZSMP circle and the plant organization. Today the party is experiencing times that are harder than those your Union is experiencing; it is more under attack and it is responsible for much more.

[K. Janik] Your thesis is correct. However, another thesis is likewise correct: as the ZSMP is today and will be tomorrow, so will be the future of the party.

[S. Wrobel] Youth organizations are a natural source of recruitment for the party. Thus, motivation and habits are carried from the youth organization into the party.

[J. Gabor] There are many people today both in the ZSMP and in the party. Thus, the motivation and inspiration flow in both directions, not only from the party to the organization, but in the other direction as well. I speak in the party about young people in the same way as I do in our Union, if not more severely. The unfortunately, small group of people that sits within both organizations is a great opportunity for the PZPR.

[M. Platek] The party is too general a designation. A young person does not evaluate the party on the basis of the resolutions of its Central Committee or even its voivodship committee. He shapes his opinion of the party on the basis of observation of "his own" POP [primary party organization], his immediate organization, which unfortunately is too often very weak politically, ideologically and organizationally. The radicalism of young people must also be directed toward moving the party forward so that it ultimately becomes the avantgarde of the working class. This is difficult; resistance and schematicized thinking must be overcome.

[S. Wrobel] If it were merely a question of schematicized thinking! We find ourselves in a closed circle. Marx said that man is the product of the totality of social relations. On the other hand, as is the man, so are the social relations. And so the circle closes. To tell the truth, one does not know how to break it. Like other political organizations, the youth organization has only the possibility of reaching in the direction of shaping the man. It is

considerably harder with social relations. Older people who were once educated traditionally cannot create new people.

[J. Gabor] Formed by being wounded?

[S. Wrobel] Do not interrupt. We are dealing here with the mechanism of duplication. The generation of the 1960's will go through life with a definite political disadvantage and mode of thinking. The next generation, 15 years later, brought up on mistakes, may represent another style of thinking.

[J. Gabor] I do not agree. We are always designating the generational boundaries and we are unable to get out of the vicious circle.

[S. Wrobel] Then are there no generations?

[J. Gabor] There are, but I do not agree with the vicious circle idea and the idea of duplication.

[S. Wrobel] That is not my own invention, it....

[J. Gabor] Let me finish. It is not only doctors who have a patent on being right! My grandfathers were brought up before the war. They had a different approach--until the end of his life my grandfather listened to Radio Free Europe and Voice of America--and he did not influence my world view. According to you, I should be opposed to communism, and I am a party member. What does this do to your vicious circle? My father also has a somewhat different approach to reality than I do. Thus, the circle is not closed--each generation goes somewhat further. Your circle can be broken; it is a question of where we, the young people, are to strike to destroy it completely.

[S. Wrobel] I do not maintain that, as the next generation, we are not developing at all. However, I do think that the mistakes being made today will be avoided in the next generation. It will not occur in the generation that has endured the crisis and that has had it somehow "imprinted" upon its consciousness.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Are you an adherent of the "corrupted by the crisis" theory?

[S. Wrobel] Yes, in a certain sense I am.

[J. Gabor] He believes that at the age of 20 one is already so "imprinted," and that he cannot change. Meanwhile I believe that one can always change.

[S. Wrobel] Do not trivialize the issue. I merely stated that a man does not change his once-formed character traits as long as he lives. If you were stubborn at age three, then despite training to the contrary this trait will remain with you forever.

[M. Piatek] I agree with [Jan] Gabor. The coformation of generations in a mutual way is a constant occurrence. The wisdom of the party, in my opinion,

should consist today of perceiving the opportunity for change within itself in this newly formed young generation. It is a generation that is undergoing an accelerated political education, a generation that is radicalized and has a negative stance. In order to become the avantgarde, the party must learn to make use of opposition for its positive development. Today there is already talk of support for certain party moves and decisions. However, the party must realize that this support is conditional, has the underpinnings of a lack of confidence and is very timid. However, the lack of confidence is also an opportunity for the party. Because of it, those who will not know how to manifest daily that they are communists will fall away--those who, immediately after elections, sit comfortably at a desk, stroking reality, to put on a front.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] According to you, an active party member who is also a ZSMP member cannot have the ambition of "pacifying" his field of operation and of resolving all conflicts. Is he to solve some problems and observe others?

[M. Piatek] Of course. This tendency should run from the party ranks up to the top, totally changing its working style.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] What if the channels become blocked? What if active party workers at the upper levels equivocate and do not permit information to be transmitted upward, suppressing it?

[M. Piatek] The impatience and doubt of young people are an opportunity here.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] You are idealizing. It is enough to do what was done after Gierek. It is enough to say: you are the generation of great opportunity, we offer or will offer it to you; the propaganda blares forth, and nothing happens or the opposite happens.

[M. Piatek] There is no chance for such methods to succeed today.

[K. Janik] Society likes some moves of the party leadership, but the party ranks are asleep.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Are the ZSMP ranks not asleep?

[K. Janik] They are waking up. They have reflexes and twitches. I do not wish to criticize the party, since I consider myself first a member.

[R. Naleszkiewicz] Then are you not to criticize it in the press?

[K. Janik] Perhaps I even have the duty to do so--to offer positive, constructive criticism. I believe that party organizations today are a half-step behind us. I do not say this out of a fetish for youth or the ZSMP. After the announcement of martial law, we are practically the only organization that has not silenced its members, but on the contrary, ordered them to speak. We ordered them to speak as though nothing had happened. The discussion "what sort of Poland--what sort of Union" represents this kind of talk. If we have a great many new proposals today, it is not due to loans or housing. New members know that they have a forum for speaking openly in the ZSMP. They know that here one can stand up and say what he thinks of the party, the

commissioner and the guinea manager. One can speak openly. We do not let someone who wants to speak tear his hair out. On the other hand, party members are dull, lifeless and as if in a state of fright. Of course, this is not so everywhere, but it is generally true.

[M. Piatek] You have no idea of the kind of pressure our ZSMP functioning activity is under today. Members debate and want to settle accounts.

[K. Janik] Our people are so prone to disagreements that I do not know, for example, whether I will still be Main Board secretary after this plenum. I have the feeling that they are keeping a watchful eye on me. That is how it should be. It is a new political quality, one that we must carefully protect.

[J. Gabor] That is interesting. Today the chairman is applauded; tomorrow there is no chairman.

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The above discussion was conducted during the first ZSMP Ideological Conference 4 March 1982. Activists and party members participated. Its intensity, freedom, critical nature heat and, finally, the desire expressed for change make it an optimistic phenomenon. There will be no summaries, no evaluations. This discussion must be continued. It is a discussion between the youth and the party, between organizations and generations. The vicious circle of inability and stagnation should be broken and from it a creative ferment born of active protest against all of the manifestations of social life that led to August 1980, and against all of the types of activism that ended 13 December 1981.

Would that this discussion were carried over into all youth environments. For, as General Jaruzelski stated at the Seventh Plenum: "This is their country. It will be the sort of country, only the sort of country that they themselves build with their work."

I add--it will also be that sort of party, a party to which many belong today and about which they wish to say, "our" party.

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HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS SPEAK ON POLAND'S NEEDS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 10 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Barbara Moroz: "Glue on Their Hands"]

[Text] In high schools, everything seems normal. There are slippers, bells, weak tea during long recesses, teachers pressing on with course plans because of perennial backlogs. At times there are strange phone calls from the inspectorate to the principal's office. The principal cringes at the phone, removes the receiver from his ear and extends it toward the corridor so that the inspector himself can hear the hellbent din there. On both ends, a sigh of relief follows--on the inspector's side, because there is calm in his subordinate unit; on the principal's side, because no one is going to meddle in the truly difficult and truly responsible job of upbringing.

What has happened? Noise and colorful sweaters in the school corridor mean that the school is operating normally. If there is calm, everybody becomes upright. Until recently, however, what everybody is nervous about today, passed for the pinnacle of high school student manners.

But it is 1982, martial law, and somehow everything is coming apart in the students' heads and hearts. . . . talk.

I ask the students how they want . . . talk, with or without a teacher? I recommend with the teacher, for then the students will speak the way they should.

They are not speaking "the way they should." They have too many doubts, questions, regrets and objections. About a dozen of us are seated in the school library. Two students bring in some tea--the students, a diluted brew in porcelain mugs; for me, steeped Turkish style in a glass. The school is located on the outskirts of Lodz.

[Student] At first, it did not really get through to me what martial law was all about. It was only later, after the incident at the Wjek mine, when stiff sentences started coming down on the Solidarity activists who were preparing strikes after 13 December.

"Now there is criticism of Solidarity, but for us that 16-month period represented something new, something important, something that awakened our hopes."

[Moroz] "Do you understand the danger that the incessant strikes and self-perpetuating chaos brought with them?"

[Student] "The blame was not all Solidarity's."

"Best of all, I am troubled by the recurrence of crises," a boy with glasses says with forethought. "I feel disheartened and embittered."

[Moroz] "This may sound repetitive, but don't you think that the solution to our problems lies in highly dependable, honest work?"

[A voice] "My parents have worked honestly and dependably all their lives."

[Moroz] "And what of that?"

[Boy] "And, at the same time, the country was going downhill."

[A boy in a sweater] "My folks made it. They have an apartment and a small flat--not much, I guess, for several decades of work. What prospects do I have? An apartment in 20 years?"

[Moroz] "What conclusion do you draw from this?"

[Boy] "I am going to leave here as soon as there is an opportunity."

There is uproar and agitation in the hall. There are comments: You want to have it easy, old man, too easy. Have you at least considered that your children would be unlikely to speak Polish?

From this I conclude that the others intend to remain in Poland.

[Moroz] "What does the country need most?"

[The boy with glasses] "All the time, I keep thinking about that, all the time." He rubs his forehead with his hand. "Perhaps we could elect the top officials ourselves?"

[A student sitting next to him] "And keep them in check...."

[Moroz] "What would be important for you, just yourselves?"

They reflect awhile.

"We would like to have some sort of organization--one that would not be manipulated from the top, with no mandated topics and campaigns, none of that much ridiculed leaf-raking. Scouting? Yes, scouting has its own merits. But even there, the head leaders hold fulltime government positions."

"There is the KZMP [Communist Union of Polish Youth], too," someone says. Everybody looks at a youth in a brown suit, until now silent.

"Well, Greg, tell us, what do you all do? There are three of you in the school."

"What are you driving at?" The boy shifts in his chair and clears his throat. "I am not going to recite the statute to you, am I? In general, we are after the good of man, man's physical as well as spiritual good."

[Voices] "That's noble, but how do you reach these ideals?"

[Grzegorz] "We are discussing this right now. We have meetings with activists from the former KZMP." [Probably the Communist Youth Union of Poland, active 1922-1938]

[Moroz] "But even among you are those gentlemen in suits who know everything best."

[Grzegorz] "We do not want them to be there. We are expecting our own convention."

"Listen," a boy named Krzysztof says. Everyone falls silent and turns in his direction; apparently he is respected among his schoolmates. "It is worth our while to depart from everyday matters for a bit and refer to science. Some generalizations apply. Undoubtedly, all political formations followed one another in a particular sequence. It should, therefore, be recognized that a time will come for communism. It is worthwhile for a person to see a great idea in it and to pursue its actualization. One should not become discouraged and impatient because errors are being committed. Historical processes take more than a little time."

"Doesn't that put you off?" someone asks.

"I am prepared for that," Krzysztof responds.

Ideals...the young people fall silent. They certainly would like to believe in something. For the time being, however, doubts prevail.

"What is the point of talking about communism, when there is so much trouble here with socialism," someone sums it up.

"Well, no," a youth near the wall retorts. "All in all, I cannot imagine that capitalism could be restored in Poland. Why cannot Poles, however, adjust to socialism?"

The question hangs in the air. I leave the group convinced that these young people, so badly lost in reality, should at least be talked to. I am reaffirmed of this belief by Grzegorz Matszak, Ph.D. in sociology and acting chief of the science and education department at the PZPR Lodz Committee. Recently, at his own initiative, he met with high school students and debated with them for 5 hours. What did he achieve? Their initial attacks on him, in the form "you" or "they," changed by the end of their conversation to the form "it needs," as in "this needs to be done" and "that needs to be done." Yet few are willing to join such discussions. School principals are not too eager for them, since schools are supposed to keep calm, and young people should study, not debate. On the other hand, it would be better, perhaps, if young people debated rather than pasted up leaflets. And, once they do that....

There is nothing to hide; this occurs in the schools as well. What is to be done then? In one school, the principal conducted an embarrassing bag and hand check in search of glue used to paste up a leaflet. That was her only interest: to find and punish the culprit.

An example from a Warsaw high school is well known. A student put up a leaflet calling on his schoolmates to honor the memory of miners from the Wujek mine. (This happened on the morning of 16 February). The janitor caught him. The principal called the police. The student was taken away in a patrol car. In effect, when the students congregated in silence in the corridor during a long recess, it was no longer clear whether it was to honor the miners or to support their friend.

A climate of discipline should dominate in schools. Yet it should not be accompanied by fear, suspicion and denunciations that arouse unhealthy associations with the 1950's, seemingly an irredeemable period.

The conversations have confirmed that ostentatious actions do not occur in those schools where the young people's trust in the faculty and staff has not been undermined. Signs of protest happen where the principal enjoys neither trust nor prestige, while the faculty reveal their mutual antagonisms or, worse, exploit young people to settle their own accounts. Occasionally, putting up a leaflet is not only a political gesture but also an expression of revolt against the situation prevailing at school or (what certain students have suggested) a desire to discredit the school's supervisory staff in the eyes of their superiors. Each case should be analyzed separately and carefully in order to draw conclusions, pedagogically sound conclusions.

[I am at] a high school in downtown Warsaw. Several neatly dressed boys and one girl from junior and senior classes ask, "We can speak frankly but how much of that are you going to get printed?"

[Moroz] "Do you think that the authorities will soon be able to accomplish anything in this country without your participation? Should they not, therefore, at least be informed of your views and attitudes, undisguised and unembellished?"

[Students] "Currently propaganda is very often primitive. In the evaluations of the last few months, what is white is nearly always credited to the authorities; what is black, as a rule is imputed to Solidarity. We all know that things were not that simple. The results of this propaganda approach may well prove contrary to the intentions. We frequently have no trust in what the press, television and radio report."

[Moroz] "You are, however, not at all poorly informed about what is going on. Where do you get your information?"

The students smile. "There are ways to get that."

"Well, I think it is a fad," a tall blond youth says. He is the one who calmly and convincingly tried to prove to his schoolmates a few minutes before what benefits had been brought about by martial law.

"It is a fad--not to read newspapers and, in general, to be 'counter.' Less strong individuals, even if they think otherwise, lack courage to oppose it. However, what benefit can there be for people in this country to be 'anti?' Just look at the international aspects of our situation. Sure, if Poland were located where Albania is, then...."

"I understand, you are chiefly concerned with our relations with the Soviet Union," a boy facing the blond youth says. "I recognize them. I simply want to be thoroughly convinced that these are truly partnership relations, especially in economic matters. Words are empty; we know they can signify something completely opposite in meaning. Today, one can be convinced by facts alone."

[Author] I repeat the question I used in Lodz. "What is it that Poland needs most?"

"Work," the boy who supported martial law replies without hesitation. "People must start respecting work. There used to be too much of the belief that the state should provide because one is owed it."

"We have had a taste of democracy," others say. "You could say anything, read and debate anything and hold meetings. There was an intellectual liveliness. For Poles, it is necessary for living. You can hardly imagine that it will not return at some point. And then another crisis is likely."

None in this group wants to leave Poland for good--for 3 years, at best. They want to work awhile and return, bringing some hard currency to the country. Of course, they caution, going to the FRG to wash the dishes is out of the question. It would be far below their self-respect.

I do not think they would want Poland to turn from socialism. They emphasize that fundamentals should be known better (what Marxism-Leninism is actually, considering that these notions are liberally used in the press), that principles should be much more compatible with life and, first of all, that what is good for Poland and for Poles should develop. The fact that a given truth is contained in a doctrine cannot determine its validity. For example, where does PZPR's leading role stem? What is its real--not pedantic--substantiation? others ask.

Who are they, to hold discussions? Last January they were invited to write a question on their cards, a question pervading their minds, that they would like to have answered. Except for a set of questions about college study, all other questions referred to politics.

They had a presentation by a Polish army colonel. When he referred to the army as having clean hands, all of the students, as if ordered, began to examine their hands attentively--all of them, at once. It was a seemingly innocuous joke, but, considering martial law, the principal sweated in fright.

Discussions are supposed to be held during [preparatory instruction in social science] PNOS, but the teacher is not always able to answer the "why"

questions that have long penetrated their minds. Moreover, it is a regular school subject for which grades are given. It is never quite clear whether one gets a grade for knowledge or for orthodox beliefs.

All in all, this is a crisis of authority; only what one gains for himself can be accepted. Knowledge externally imposed is accepted distrustfully. Students want to reach their own conclusions, by analyzing the facts.

I was told a lot about this by two girls from a Warsaw high school. One can get by in school by maneuvering, they affirmed. It pays to cringe in front of the teachers, crib, be absent on a test day. Sometimes this yields better results than honest, thorough work. A smile followed. This is what life is like-- life, in which hypocrisy is their major fear.

Those were only conversations, several dozen of them, a journalist's raw material with no pretense of a generalization, barely signalling the issues that are perhaps worth reflecting about for a moment.

There is one irrefutable truth for the author: The stubborn search for the glue with which the leaflet had been pasted, rather than seeking why it had been placed there, proves at best the stupidity and shortsightedness exhibited toward those to whom the baton of the generations must soon be passed.

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KATOWICE VOIVODSHIP PARTY PLENUM HELD

Executive Board Report

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The political and organizing activities of the voivodship party organizations and the tasks of the party members in the implementation of the PZPR Central Committee Seventh Plenum resolution were the subject of Thursday's deliberations of the voivodship party echelon in Katowice, which were conducted by comrade Prof Zbigniew Messner, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee. The following were present: members of the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau, Central Committee secretary comrade Stefan Olszowski and comrade Jerzy Romanik, miner in the Siemianowice Mine, members of the Central Committee of the Katowice voivodship, members of the Polish People's Army, first secretaries of town, town-gmina and gmina party echelons, and the political aktiv.

In opening the deliberations, comrade Zbigniew Messner stated that the Voivodship Committee's plenary meeting had been preceded by broad party consultation during 16 regional conferences of the aktiv, in which close to 2,000 comrades participated. The proposals and opinions submitted by them were used in preparing the Voivodship Committee Executive Board report, which formulates the most important directions of party activity.

The report was then presented to those assembled by the secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, comrade Lucjan Gajda.

Voivodship Committee (KW) Executive Board Report

The report of the KW Executive Board states that each member of the PZPR—a communist, is responsible for implementing the most important task, which is that of leading the country out of the crisis, restoring economic balance, social order and conditions favoring the rebuilding of the working people's complete confidence in the party, and achieving fully, by the party, its leading role in society.

Comrade Lucjan Gajda then discussed the proposals which ensued out of the processes that led to the threat of civil war, as the result of the actions of the counterrevolutionary forces, and then to the proclamation of martial law.

Emphasizing that the great majority of the working people, in our voivodship also, accepted with understanding and in a practical manner supported the decision and the undertaking of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], the speaker pointed to the increasingly better work of the workforces, especially the miners, the improvement in public safety and order, and society's ever-broader expression of deep appreciation for the patriotic mission of the soldiers of the Polish People's Army who make up the operational groups in the towns and gminas. The progressing normalization is making it possible for the party to work towards national accord. That, after all, is the essence of the party's leading role in society.

Every party echelon and organization today has a basic task to fulfill: to acquaint each member with the Seventh Plenum documents, to induce him to fully familiarize himself with the texts of the basic program documents of the Ninth Party Congress, and then to implement the designated tasks. They must be translated into tasks and duties for every echelon and organization, every party member. And this is what many party organizations are now doing, seeking the most appropriate forms. Their experience must be shared by everyone.

Modesty, devotion to ideology, and an uncompromising stance, a service-motivated approach to the interests of the working class and the socialist state, readiness to defend the party's good name and the state's political-system reasons--these party member obligations must always occupy the center of our attention. We must remember all of this as we begin in our party to discuss the draft of the PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Program Declaration. This discussion must be based on a thorough familiarity with the Ninth Congress Resolution, the resolutions of the Central Committee's Fourth and Sixth Plenums, comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech at the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum and the resolution passed at that Plenum, and, above all, the PZPR Statute. Only such a thorough and comprehensive discussion on the draft declaration can fulfill its task and contribute to the fully aware and lasting acceptance of "what we are fighting for, where we are heading". It should lead to the achievement of organizational and ideological unity in the party and to the full conformity of words with deed.

Every party member should, first of all, be in the parent primary party organization (POP) and it is his duty to fulfill the party tasks entrusted to him by that organization. That is where the principles of intraparty democracy must be developed. In the party as a whole we must particularly cultivate such characteristics of party consciousness as constructive criticism, and constructive dissatisfaction with results achieved in the past, which for a communist are the starting point for further accomplishment.

Our party has nothing to hide from society, and, above all, from the working class. This is particularly important in the Katowice voivodship. Here we are dealing with the largest and also the most experienced working class, its main macro-industrial branches--the miners and the steelworkers. It is high time that we restored the proper meaning to these assertions. The party echelons and organizations must act openly, closely, and actually directly, with the working class, and be subject to its control and evaluation on a continual basis. The party's role of serving this class in itself assumes that the intraparty life will be open.

The KW Executive Board report gave a great deal of attention to the molding and the importance of intraparty information.

The report then devoted a considerable amount of attention to party activities in the Katowice journalist circles, as a result of which many accurate commentaries, rapid and purposeful information, has been appearing in the columns of the newspapers. The Voivodship Committee will hasten to supply the journalist community with essential and organizational assistance, giving it the indispensable information and appropriate sources.

The implementation of party education and training tasks, especially in the area of educating society in patriotism and publicizing the principles of applying economic reform, must have its proper place in ideological activities. In all party activities and in the mass media we must show the role, place and responsibility of the working class in the socialist state as the genuine master of the country.

After a discussion of concrete actions in the cultural and scientific community, where the party organization and PZPR members face serious tasks, the Executive Board report indicated some particularly large tasks for party members employed in education and schooling. The disintegration of scientific and education communities requires that the party organization intensify its political work among the party members themselves as well as among the nonparty people, particularly among the youth, where the ideological and moral devastation is especially great.

The tasks, after the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, were released to the press. Therefore, the party organizations and echelons and all party members know what is most important for them at this time.

Finally, the PZPR KW Executive Board report in Katowice states: "We must be equal to the difficult duties. But we are not beginning from anew. The reconstruction of the party has actually already begun. We must all be convinced that our party can and must be quickly reborn. We have all the conditions necessary to do this. The rest depends on our party work and on every PZPR party member, a communist, on each of us who can and must earn the right to be called a communist".

Discussion

The problems presented in the KW Executive Board report were developed in a discussion. The following comrades took the floor: Andrzej Tomczewski, member of the KW Executive Board, employee of the Katowice Iron and Steel Works; Stanislaw Wojtek, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA; Aniela Mroz, KW member, first secretary of the Department Party Organization (OOP) in the Siemianowice Hard Coal Mine (KWK); Henryk Badura, KW Executive Board member, first secretary of the Plant Committee (KZ) in the Lenin KWK in Myslowice; Boguslaw Kabala, KW member, director of the Stanislaw Staszic General High School IV in Sosnowiec; Zbigniew Krzyzanowski, KW member, member of the City Committee (KM) in Zabrze; Roman Grebosz, KW member, manager of the KW Information Department in Katowice; Anna Musiolik, KW member, director of the Vocational Schools' Group [ZSZ], Jastrzebie; Andrzej Uhorski, KW member, KM secretary in Gliwice; Joanna Skrzypczak, KW Executive Board member, employee of the Mining Supply Enterprise [PZG]; Boleslaw Skotnicki, KM first secretary in Bytom; Stanislaw Horak, KW Executive Board member, writer; Stefan Gancarek, vice chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Commission (WKKP); Anna Marciniak, Central Committee member, vice president of the

Agricultural Production Cooperative (RSP) in Pietrowice Wielkie; Leszek Ogieglo, Candidate Member of the Central Committee, first secretary of the College Committee (KU) at the Silesian University; and Stefan Pyzalski, KW member, employee of the Bobrek Iron and Steel Works in Bytom. The remaining expressions of opinion were recorded in the minutes.

The basic thread of the discussion were intraparty matters. The speakers concentrated principally on methods of consolidating and strengthening party organizations, methods of stimulating the basic elements to action. It was stressed that the publication in the press of the tasks of the party organizations and echelons, ensuing from the documents of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, and particularly the specifying of the dates by which these tasks are to be implemented, will assist in activating and planning the party work, and will also facilitate full control over the work.

In the opinion of the speakers, the discussion which is beginning in the party organizations on the draft PZPR Ideological Program Declaration, "What we are fighting for, where we are heading", will assist in improving the ideological knowledge of the party membership. In later columns of this paper we will return to the matters brought up in the discussion.

The floor was then taken by comrade Stefan Olszowski, who replied to the questions put forth by the discussants and talked about the present directions of party work (The speech appears on page 3) [See below].

Decisions

During the deliberations, comrade Zbigniew Messner reported to the members of the Plenum that the KW Executive Board at its meeting on the 25th of this month [March] decided, in accordance with the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum resolution, to dissolve the Marxist-Leninist Seminar at the Voivodship Center for Ideological Training. The Executive Board expressed its deep appreciation for the party and political commitment of the members of the former Seminar during the period that was difficult for the party.

"Now", the KW Executive Board document says, "operating conditions have changed, as the decisions of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum have shown in strongly emphasizing the urgency of joint action within the framework of the PZPR statute passed at the Ninth Party Congress and the conscious growth of party discipline."

In the organizational portion, the Plenum accepted the request of comrade Jozef Piszczek that he be relieved of his duties as member of the Executive Board and KW secretary due to his appointment by the chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Minister to the position of deputy governor of the Katowice voivodship. The Plenum thanked comrade J. Piszczek for his many years of productive party work. Next, the Plenum elected, by secret vote, as secretary for ideological upbringing affairs in the KW, comrade Jan Zielinski, past member of the KW Executive Board, first secretary of the KM in Sosnowiec. Of 94 members of the KW Plenum voting, 88 voted in favor of his candidacy. Comrade J. Zielinski, born in 1935, has a master's degree in philology and is a journalist. Before going into party work, he was editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA. He is a member of the POP in the WANDA Knitwear Goods Plant (ZPD) [at Sosnowiec].

The Plenum also made some changes in the managers of some KW departments. Comrade Andrzej Kolacz, born in 1944, master's degree in law, prosecutor in the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Dabrowa Gornicza, became manager of the Administrative Department. Comrade Zygmunt Lebda-Wyborny, born in 1948, doctor of economic science, adjunct and first secretary of the College Committee (KU) of the Economic Academy, was chosen as manager of the Science and Education Department. Comrade Eugeniusz Michalik, born in 1945, master's degree in economics, deputy director for technical economic affairs of the Economic Academy, was appointed manager of the General Department. The function of manager of the KW Economic Department was entrusted to comrade Zygmunt Urbanek, born in 1941, master's degree in construction engineering and assistant manager of this department. The position of manager of the Coal Department went to comrade Roman Janas, born in 1944, university education, KM secretary in Chorzow from 1963 to 1981, worked in the Barbara-Chorzow Mine, last as a shift foreman.

The KW Plenum appointed the following Voivodship Committee commission--the Women's Commission, composed of female representatives of all socio-occupational circles.

The KW Plenum passed a resolution which binds all party echelons and organizations, PZPR KW departments, and the management of the party newspaper, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, to implement the schedule of the tasks of the party echelon and organization that forms the integral part of this resolution.

In conclusion, comrade Zbigniew Messner took the floor, stating that the opinions expressed during the deliberations unequivocally define the duties of the Katowice voivodship party members in the implementation of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum resolution. The now-indispensable process of consolidation and activation is taking place in party organizations and echelons. It is essential that all of the party aktiv, all those who understand the need to increase the militancy, strength and authority of the PZPR, take part in further activities.

The Plenum was adjourned with the singing of the "Internationale".

Stefan Olszowski's Speech

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26-28 Mar 82 p 3

[Speech by Stefan Olszowski, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at 25 March 1982 Voivodship Committee Plenum in Katowice: "We Must Return to the Resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress, Which Opened a New Chapter in Party Life, Full of Deep Democratism and Hope"]

[Text] Martial Law Put a Halt to Overt Counter-Revolutionary Propaganda

Martial law created a new situation as regards information and propaganda. Martial law put a halt to the political opponent's overt counter-revolutionary propaganda. This permitted the party, the government, and even earlier, the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] to take the political initiative. Naturally, the imposition of martial law carries with it some indispensable restrictions in the functioning of the mass media. The principle of party direction of mass media information has been restored. Titles which advertise the viewpoints of the anti-socialist opposition, including the SOLIDARNOSC [NSZZ Solidarity organ] press, have been eliminated from the press market. We should bear in mind, however, that despite the

fact that the cadre and censorship rigors have been intensified, and that order has been restored to the functioning of the mass media, we do not have a news-propaganda monopoly. After 13 December, the anti-communist broadcasts originating in the West and directed against Poland have increased. Without any exaggeration, it can be said that a news war and an economic war has been declared against Poland, and especially against the Polish legal authority. We stand up to both these challenges. We will deal with the economic challenge thanks to the support of the socialist countries, and particularly the Soviet Union's economic assistance. We must repel the news and propaganda aggression totally by our own forces.

The propaganda attack against Poland, against socialism, against the legal, socialist rule, is repelled on two planes: in the sphere of social awareness, the awareness of the citizens, and also on the international platform.

Let us Strengthen the Patriotic Concern for the Socialist State

The main directions of our work are linked with the basic ideas which PZPR Central Committee first secretary comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski embodied in his speeches, both on 13 December and in the Sejm speech of 25 January, as well as in the speech at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee. They derive also from the resolutions of this Plenum and other party documents. We should, in all news and propaganda institutions, and also in all our party activities, regularly return to these speeches, translate their main theses into everyday language, and make sure that they reach every citizen.

Martial law was imposed as a legal, constitutional practice, by a legal authority and legal constitutional means. This is extremely important. The legality of our actions gives us a basis for rejecting the attacks of the governments of certain western countries against our leadership. The Hungarians, after the 1956 events and after suppressing the counter-revolution, fought for 4 years for recognition of their government. We have completely avoided such a prospect. First, because the imposition of martial law was our wholly sovereign decision, and second, because it was conducted entirely by legal means, by the legal organs of our state.

Martial law gives us an opportunity to accomplish a specific civic re-education, to strengthen social discipline and general order. There can never be too much of this. The last several months have shown the damage that neglect in the civic upbringing of our youth can bring, and how much in this field still remains to be done. How long martial law lasts will depend on the degree to which the aims of the authority and society are similar in concerted action towards the normalization of economic and social life. This is, as a matter of fact, the only criteria for abolishing martial law.

Important also is the support and renewal of all those theses that were the program achievements of the Ninth Party Congress. The party did a great deal of work before the Ninth Congress, however, during the time of the Congress it went into it more deeply and codified it from the theoretical and political standpoint. And this was the reason for the violent attack of the forces connected with the Solidarity leadership or those manipulating Solidarity. We remember the "hunger marches", the strikes, the blocking of the Warsaw traffic circle, the attempt to organize rallies on the

premises of the Committee for Radio and Television, where Bujak tried to draw the Warsaw hooligans, and finally, the so-called "days without a press". All of this made the popularization and dissemination of the ideas of the Ninth Congress very difficult. That is why we should return to them. The Ninth Congress is a very important party achievement. It functioned in the spirit of honest democratism and shaped the correct party line.

Therefore, we must return to the matters of the Ninth Congress, to its adherence to principles and to its deep democratism. This is the best activity by which to strengthen the party's ideological and political unity and to popularize its ideas.

And against this background we should also show the need for effective application of economic reform as a condition for bringing Poland out of the crisis and overcoming the conservatism of thinking and acting.

A matter of special importance is particularly the strengthening of patriotic concern for the socialist state. It is that, after all, which was most endangered by the incredible, inane and irresponsible activity of the Solidarity leaders. And, certainly, the state is the greatest achievement of our society, of our nation. That is why the enemies made its most brutal attack against its institutions. They wanted to replace a governed Poland with a "self-governed" Poland, and in the future, certainly, with a non-governed [anarchic] Poland.

There is also a need to constantly cultivate knowledge on the political and social reasons deriving for Poland from our alliances with the socialist countries, and particularly with the Soviet Union. These are reasons of class and reasons of Poland's security and its prestige in the world. This is particularly important now when the West is promoting the thesis that the Yalta-Potsdam order should be changed. Without Yalta and Potsdam there would be no postwar peace in Europe and there would be no ethnically just and safe Polish borders.

We are in the Midst of an Irreversible Historical Process

Comrades! Under the pressure of the course of the unusually dramatic events taking place between the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and 13 December, in the consciousness of a portion of the society, and what is worse, also a portion of the members of our party, it is as if the meaning of this historically important political event had been erased. I have here in mind the deep, democratic turn that was made in the Polish United Workers Party at the Ninth Congress, as a result of an examination of causes and the condition before August 1980, in accordance with the critical evaluations of the working class and its will to renew its own party.

Let me remind you that the Ninth Extraordinary Congress took place under conditions that were really exceptional, during the course of a continually deepening socio-political crisis and a developing economic crisis, thus in the heat of a sharp political battle, and at the same time, the difficulty of counteracting the avalanche of material adversities. And despite this, at the Ninth Congress our party was able to express the determined will of its class, working core and all of its forces operating with the interests of Poland and Marxist ideals in mind, assuming the duty of standing up to the confrontational, anti-socialist activities and the challenge to the real, dramatic, critical political and economic circumstances.

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Party Congress thus objectively was an important turning point in the history of our party and doubtless in the history of our socialist Fatherland. Despite the temporary change in the political situation in the country after 13 December of last year [1981], the main points of the Congress' program decisions retain their historical importance, just as the Leninist, formative and democratic changes, made in our party's statute, are not subject to any tactical or situational considerations.

The Ninth Congress irrevocably closed one chapter in the life of our party and opened another one--new, democratic, and full of hope. This means also, that the party, in leading society and fighting to make this ideological, political and moral leadership enduring, along with the entire nation crossed the threshold of a new epoch in Poland's development. This fact will not be changed by the extent of actual delinquencies and the intensity of the deformation of life in the past, nor by the enormity of economic difficulties, nor by the fact that sharp conflicts are still present today in our society. This is aided by the awareness of the patriotic goals established by our situation today. This is furthered also by the fact of the imposition of martial law in the defense of socialism and the interest of Poland, the Polish nation and the Polish state.

Many struggles and a vast amount of work awaits. But one thing is sure: We have found ourselves in the midst of an irreversible historical process, whose main direction is indicated by the idea of socialism, i.e., social justice. But its basic goal today is the restoration of the role of the subject, consequently, the role of the main causative force--to the working class in the party and society, and on the other hand, to the patriotic and progressive forces in the life of the entire nation.

This pertains to our internal life, in the country, and Poland's role in international life, in Europe and in the world. This direction of aims, this necessity to restore to the nation and to Poland the full role of the subject, has a determining, historical importance. Our country, our Fatherland, our state, can never be the object of manipulation or any kind of internal forces, inspired by non-Polish interests, or any external forces which, just as in 1939 so now, attempt to use it as a playing card in the game for their own interests at our cost. A vivid example of these kinds of unconcealed desires is the ruthless aggressive and restrictional policy of the Reagan administration toward the Poles.

We are building our hopes primarily on work, strenuous work, from the foundations, in the sweat of our brows, but also on the devotion to democracy and justice, the sense of dignity and obligation to our own society. These ideals, these desires of the Poles, will be focused and will be more and more clearly and strongly expressed by the idea of socialism. It, too, grew on Polish soil and has its roots there. It was at this idea, after all, that, in essence, the political thoughts of Joachim Lelewel, Edward Dembowski, Stanislaw Worcell, Rev Piotr Sciegenny and Ludwik Warynski, were aimed. This idea was a link between the battle for national liberation and the battle for the social liberation of the people, the workers, peasants, all kinds of Polish downtrodden poor. And today it is our own key to the future, forged and tempered by the conditions of the development of Polish history, and shaped by the awareness that there is no road in the development of mankind that would be more just. This road can and should be constantly improved and straightened out. But

today it runs through the country, here, along the Wisla [River], between the Polish fields and Polish towns. That is why it is ours, our own.

We Must be a Party of Action

In this spirit of patriotic and democratic aspirations the deliberations took place and the main outlines of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress program were shaped. The delegates, as well as the members of the new Central Committee, were elected in accordance with the unrestricted will of the party members.

The basic decisions of the Ninth Congress program resolution continue to be, as the Seventh Plenum confirmed, the beacon for our party. We must be a party of action, all of its people, the basic organizations, the echelons, and finally, the party as a whole. Marxism-Leninism is the ideological binder of the entire party. But this, of course, is not enough. The party always proclaimed this. During the successive crises we found that there had been ideological neglect, upon which we quickly announced that this neglect had been corrected. During the 1970's, the victory of Marxism in the consciousness of the nation had been proclaimed almost triumphantly, in the humanities also. Next, the discussion group, "Experience and the Future" [DIP], announced that the "PZPR had ceased to be a political party and had neither an ideology or a program".

Actually, the Ninth Congress strongly and straightforwardly emphasized the neglect of ideological work during the 1970's. As a result, the disintegration on the ideological front was relatively advanced. A number of theoreticians, who up to that time had considered themselves to be Marxists, left the party. The party's position was expressed in some periodicals, educational institutions and in some institutions of the ideological front. The Ninth Congress rebuffed the attack on the Marxist-Leninist character of our party, and this was an attack that was hard to compare with any other in the last decades. Pressures to social-democratize the party were overruled. However, this danger has not been completely averted. There is still a danger that the opponents of Marxism, who lost at the opening gun, will pretend to be Marxists, to make out Marxism to be a spell, rigorously washing out its creative substance. And so it is important that Marxist be in our party, and in our activity, a serious ideology and not just an empty declaration. We must develop Marxism as a science, study it as a science and develop it. I think we have a great deal to do on this issue, in radio and television also.

What should be done to popularize socialist ideas, and particularly Marxism-Leninism, more widely in the party and in all of society? During the next few weeks a discussion will develop in the party as a whole on the draft Central Committee Ideological Program Declaration, "what we are fighting for, where we are heading". This Ideological Program Declaration refers to such fundamental matters as our origins, the experience gained in our party's struggle, the most important program goals, and finally, the matter of the relationship to the socialist state and the shape of our party itself. We must take this discussion far out into the society, particularly to the youth. We must translate the language of the party discussion into a society-wide discussion. We want to renew the outlook on the party, on its role, on its capabilities and on its functioning. This will have a very great importance for stabilizing the situation in the country. The period of the struggle for stabilization now awaits us. It will no longer be characterized by the kinds of tensions we lived through

last year. But it will require political contact at the lowest possible level, in the workplaces, the village, the primary party organizations, the youth organizations, the Rural Housewives' Circles, in a word to all the cells in our life. This will be a long-duration, intellectual effort. In going in this direction, in activating discussion on the Central Committee's Ideological Program Declaration, we will bring order to the minds of people.

We have spoken out at the Congress in favor of the openness of political life, while aware of the fact that the rebuilding and strengthening of social confidence in the authorities and the party will be possible only if social democracy, whose substance is the principle of democracy, is restored. On the one hand, this is assisted by the deep reform of the central system of managing the state and the country's economy, but also by the implementation of the right of the working people to participate directly in governing the state and managing the national economy. On this issue, the Ninth Congress left no doubt. It was decided that democratic mechanisms of socio-political life would function: genuine workers' self-government, social, town, cooperative and territorial self-government, that is, a socialist self-government, which must be based on legal-statutory, lawful, principles. A Congress resolution instructs that a new electoral law for the Sejm and the People's Councils be prepared. Sejm laws on workers' (pracowniczy) self-government, rural self-government, People's Councils, trade unions--on the one hand--and on the other hand, elevating to the highest levels the principle of lawfulness, also in the same meaning, as attested by the appointment of a Constitutional Tribunal and a Tribunal of State, constitute proof of the real aims and directions in the implementation of goals established in the Congress' resolution.

The party then and now wishes to cherish above all else the principle that the Polish socialist state must be strong and competent, able to govern, but above all, that it must be democratic in its essence.

We Have a Consistent Concept of the Party's Role in the Socialist State

Our party has in a determined manner stated in the Congress resolution that its service activity in regards to society must be focused on the full implementation of the principles of equality and social justice, democracy, lawfulness, and civic rights and freedoms. That work is the source of strength and national prosperity and the social security of all classes and social groups. The PZPR regards the principle of social justice and equality as the most important value of socialist ideology. The party implements its leading role in society and its managing role in the state within the framework of the Constitution and laws. The Ninth Congress created, therefore, a consistent concept of the party's role in the socialist state, and our own model of socialist democracy, and also the socialist state.

It is based primarily on raising the rank of the Polish People's Republic Sejm and creating genuine conditions for its fulfillment of its constitutional role, particularly in the sphere of establishing directions for the state's socio-economic development, in the field of control over the actions of other organs of authority, and the staffing of the leading organs of state administration. This is implemented by the plan, for example, to appoint a Socio-Economic Council [RSG].

The proper status of the People's Councils will also be aimed at restoring the correct relationship between the legislative authority and the executive authority. Their authority must be expanded insofar as the management function in their own area is concerned, which means that they will have a decisive influence on filling positions and creating the material conditions for the development of regions. The important substance of their activity is contained also in the principle of self-government, which is reinforced by the development of workers' self-government in the light of economic reform and also the new legal regulations.

The formation of genuine workers' self-government not only gives expression to the aspirations of the working class to co-manage and co-govern, but it is also an extremely important element in the legal-system structure of our state.

There can be no social democracy without the participation of authentic trade unions, independent, governed by internal statutes, functioning autonomously, however within the framework of socialist legal order, in the interests of the working people and in the interests of their state.

What is important, is that our model of a socialist state must be based on democracy, as expressed by the development of self-government and the restoration of the proper superiority of the elected authorities over the executive authorities.

The party is aware that acting most closely within the limits of the laws in effect, striving to co-create, through all people of good will, conditions for the development of democracy and a socialist economy, we can achieve these social goals and political tasks only with the cooperation of all patriotic forces, with our closest political allies, the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD), and also with groups of non-Party people, with religious organizations which, like the Catholic Church, play a large role in the life of society. And this is the source of the idea of a front of social and national rebirth.

Therefore, the most vital matters, whose importance remains unvariable, include the consolidation, on this plane, of a strong and democratic socialist state, a joint work of all its citizens, regardless of their affiliation and outlook on life--which will be the result of social and patriotic ties.

Despite the difficulties, notwithstanding the counter-revolutionary actions of anti-socialist circles, which we are restricting and combating, the party's aim to consolidate the principles of socialist democracy, to develop it, to give it the characteristics of real and full authenticity, does not lessen but will grow. The workers' party rejects the reactionary thesis that the more social equality, the less individual freedom there must be. We take the position that socialism is the most real expression of democracy, since in equalizing the rights and duties, it gives, in exchange, an equal opportunity for people to develop, and it rejects all privileges except the privilege to work for society, for our own nation. Socialism and democracy are two sides of this same goal for humanity.

The party itself, at the Ninth Congress, gave proof of its democratism. We are already forgetting, or perhaps some are ignoring it, that the party statute, in consolidating the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, expanded that portion which in the past had been weakened, namely, the democratism.

Fervent striving to create statutory guarantees against the possibility of repeating old mistakes and the deformation of the party's political life, led to victory for this principle. It is shown, for example, in the severity of the ideological and moral criteria binding on a PZPR member, the absolute supremacy of elected echelons and bodies over executive authorities and party apparatus, in the principle of joint action by authorities, and also in the electoral system.

Not official decisions, but political practice, the activeness of the primary party organizations, determines the correctness of party functioning. But party law, the PZPR Statute, forms the basis for democratism, which does not weaken but actually enhances the strength, unity of action and authority of the elected authorities. It enhances effectiveness, based on conscious discipline, which is the basis of democratic centralism on workers' wisdom and Marxist political thought and gives a tremendous opportunity to affect the course of the party line, makes it possible to control the correctness of its development.

The importance of the Ninth Congress Resolution was appreciated by society, despite the fact that the Congress took place under extremely difficult, actually almost confrontational, political conditions, in the face of social divisions and developing anti-socialist activities. Society had very great hopes in the Ninth Congress.

These expectations and hopes, in spite of the political activity of the anti-socialist forces and sources of foreign diversion, clearly show that Poland's society regarded the matter of the party, its program and aims, as a condition for positive transformations in the state and in the nation's social life.

This very important statement of fact should give all of those who fight the party from the position of enemies or counter-revolutionaries, food for thought as to whether they are ignoring it from the position of managerial pragmatism. This matter was covered by comrade W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the Seventh Plenum, when he said, "The immutable principle of socialist construction is the leading role of the party; no nation yet has built or defended socialism, without the Marxist-Leninist party."

Let us say here, recalling the cascading development of political events, after the Ninth Congress until 13 December, that the Congress' deliberations, opening up the possibility of the party's regaining social confidence, became a signal for our enemies to accelerate their anti-socialist activities, aimed at stifling national hopes, undermining party influence, and distracting social and national thoughts away from our correct and democratic proposals.

Today, although with resistance, the situation in Poland is changing. Social attitudes are becoming stabilized and positive stimuli are appearing in economic activity. But this still does not mean victory. There are still many concerns before us, many craters that have to be filled, and a lot of evil that must be removed.

That is why the task of reviving the economy and putting it into full motion, giving it a faster rhythm, is advancing to the forefront of today's matters. But this requires an awareness of several events.

First--we have in our country not only political forces but interest groups, ordinary groups of dishonest, incompetent or lazy people who do not want to comply with social interests or show an enthusiasm for hard work, to be orderly, or to seek new ways of development. And this is indispensable, for otherwise there can be no economic reform or enterprise independence, and the economic crisis will not be overcome. We must go on the attack against the almost cliquish groups, and we must resist stupidity. We must open the road for responsible work for the young people, and in this work, youth will be a party ally.

Second--the economic policy of the 1970's resulted in an unusually high degree of dependence of the Polish economy on the West. It made the country unusually susceptible to the imperialist policies of the political diversion circles. Our losses mounted each day, and as a result, we not only lost our field of economic maneuver, but what is most important, a considerable part of our political sovereignty.

Third--in this situation, the only solution for Poland, as always in our postwar history, was the friendly assistance of the USSR and the countries in the socialist camp. This is revealed, as a result of the recent talks of the party-state Polish delegation in Moscow, in the immediate increase in deliveries of raw materials, components, and other means indispensable in order to maintain, and then develop, production.

This is good. This is Poland's main opportunity today. We must enter intelligently into the system of the division of labor and cooperation within the CEMA in order to protect our country in the future against the economic, political and propaganda activity directed against us.

But this cannot be the only way of transforming and redirecting our economy, its production systems and directions of development. We cannot live too long off the charity of our neighbors. We have objective potentials of our own, internal solutions in the future, and we must utilize them.

Fourth--the necessity for a thorough reorientation of our industry and the entire economy must be based above all on the broad development of those fields which can use our own, Polish, raw materials. Our country, in comparison with others, is not wealthy in this field, but still it is in a more favorable situation than many others. If the loss of an important part of economic independence is the result of past mistakes, then our work in the future should be devoted to recovering this independence.

That is why all the patriotic forces of Polish science, all of the ingeniousness of the engineers and technicians, inventors, innovators and production organizers, should be concentrated now and in the future on the main national task: the development of a system of using our own raw materials resources, on their technological utilization, and on the development of those fields of chemistry, metallurgy, and the appropriate branches of the processing industry which should use Polish coal, sulfur, salt, and copper, iron and lead ores. In the agricultural economy, however, concentration should be on the task of actually feeding the nation and on the development of production that will again in the future restore our position as an exporter of food in Europe, and in our country, ensure supplies of raw materials to the processing and food industries, and also, for example, to the light industry--textile and leather.

Principles of the Democratic Social Policy of the PZPR

Comrades! First of all, let us overcome our own mistakes, develop our own capabilities, our own resources, and make use of everything that we have.

He who today has a mouth full of platitudes about freedom and independence, on human rights, on liberty, and knowingly forgets the most important words, about creation, national wisdom, about the forces of history, about duty, and finally, about sweat and blood in work on the development of the home economy, really does not work in the name of Poland. He simply has nothing in common with our most vital national and social interests.

Many times in the past we have loftily talked right through the most important events in history, and then ran out of strength to do the work. But, of course, not all and not always. I will recall here an exceptional, in some sense, but not the only figure in our history, Rev Stanislaw Staszic, one of the most distinguished thinkers and publicists who had an important influence on the May 3rd Constitution uprising, this most beautiful dying gesture of our pre-partitioned state. Stanislaw Staszic never ceased his self-sacrificing service to the nation. He made a major contribution to the development of Polish science. We are grateful to him first of all for the results of geological and raw materials research, which we lacked until then. It is he who contributed to the development of the Old Polish Industrial District and the establishment of the Mining Academy School in Kielce and the University in Warsaw. It is he who built the graduation towers in Ciechocinek to utilize the salt resources and it is he who discovered the coal deposits in Dabrowa Gornicza. Was he less of a patriot than those who bore weapons? Does his memory deserve less respect, although he also committed errors in political assessments, when at the same time the results of his work still survive? Our national need, our country, again calls for such patriotism, growing out of the civic injunction to work and to act in behalf of the Fatherland. Let us vie with another to see who can do more to save and develop this legacy that we inherited from such people. And this legacy, precisely, is Poland.

The patriotism of work counts for most of all today, for everything depends on it--family survival, the reduction of zones of poverty and the development of zones of social abundance, the development of the industrial economy and agriculture, social peace, and the country's future.

Our party's Ninth Congress program line indicates just such a direction of today's actions, the substance of future social and national goals, and therefore it shapes the vision of necessary joint work and a program of transformations, which will serve the working people, and strengthen the socialist system of a sovereign Polish People's Republic.

In concrete, real dimensions, these tasks must assist in the implementation of long-range democratic social policy, defined by our party in the Ninth Congress Resolution. It is the result of the conformity of the feelings of the primary party organizations and the party's highest forum--the Congress. Let us remind ourselves that this line is determined by principles such as:

--remuneration according to work results, and therefore the rejection of other unearned forms of income and ways of enriching oneself;

--making it possible for every working family to achieve at least the social minimum, thus going on the attack against want and poverty;

--striving to ensure every family independent housing, thus placing the welfare of this basic social unit at the forefront of the party's activities, as being interested in the development of its living conditions, and its moral, material and cultural development;

--guaranteeing health care, comprehensive medical and socio-occupational rehabilitation and suitable working and rest conditions, thus shifting from the technocratic aim to maximize production at any cost to ensuring that the individual really has a leading place in politics, in activity, in the system of utilizing the results of social work;

--implementing an equal start in life for the young generation from all regions, occupational circles and social groups, thus undertaking a task of historical importance, making educational, cultural and civilizational policy more realistic;

--open and fair proportions of incomes, thus combating all methods of special privilege, if the work is to be regarded as equal, and evaluated according to actual measures of justice and social usefulness.

Thus, how fresh, how truthfully and lastingly, all of these social, political, systems and national issues which the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress undertook and included in its program, appear.

9295

CSO: 2600: 513

TANK OFFICER SCHOOL COMMANDER DISCUSSES CAREER, IDEALS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 13, 28 Mar 82 p 3

[Interview with Brigadier Gen Zdzislaw Gluszczyk, commandant of the Tank Officer School (WSOW Panc) [located in Poznan] by Tadeusz Ozienkowski: "How Does One Become a General?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] How does one become a general and commandant of the Military Academy?

[Answer] At first, one must graduate from a military academy (I graduated from a tank officer academy in 1955) and then successively commanded a platoon, a company, a battalion, a regiment and a division.

[Question] The education that you, Citizen General, have received is not restricted to tank officer academy alone, is it?

[Answer] Certainly, it is not. Had I stopped at that, my knowledge would have sufficed at the most up to the battalion level. Somehow "on my way" between successive positions I graduated at first from the Officer Improvement Course and then from the Academy of General Staff followed by a Military Academy in the USSR.

[Question] For the shortest period of time, you were in command...

[Answer] For only a few months, I was the chief of staff of a division. For 2 years, I was in command of a tank platoon and for the same length of time I was the chief of staff of a tank regiment.

[Question] And for the longest period of time...

[Answer] I was a division commander for 4 years.

[Question] Has the life you are living been an easy one?

[Answer] I would not say that, because it has been a difficult life. I belong to the generation of Polish Youth Union members. I was 16 when I joined this organization and I was faithful to it until I joined the ranks of the Party 4 years later, in 1954. I went to the military academy during the

years when "it was not the high school diploma, but sheer will..." that mattered.

[Question] And you were tremendously successful?

[Answer] I graduated from the academy with honors and got a diploma with a red band. However, I should not be confused with my elder brother who graduated from the tank officer academy several years before me first in his class. The name Gluszczyk on the board of the distinguished in the Tradition Hall of the academy is his.

[Question] However, let us get back to the topic "Life of an Officer."

[Answer] As I said, it was not easy. Despite everything, I have no reasons to complain, since time and time again I have had considerable success. When I commanded a company, my small unit took first place in the unit twice in the course of 3 years. When I assumed command of a battalion, it was among the best in the Pomeranian Military District. When I was a regiment commander, my regiment was twice distinguished in the orders of the Minister of National Defense for outstanding performance in training, discipline and military order. It was the same at the division level.

[Question] From that we can infer that Citizen General has been very lucky?

[Answer] You do not owe success to luck, but to hard work. If a person puts in much effort, it sooner or later bears fruit. I have had opportunities to become persuaded of that more than once. At the same time, it is real trouble if a person is not aware of the problems that pile up around him.

[Question] Has it been easy to achieve envisaged goals?

[Answer] Each time I assumed a successively higher position, I aimed for different goals. In the process, I made sure that the goals were realistic, that they pertained to the most essential needs of the small unit or unit. Once I established the goals, I tried persistently to carry them out. I did not pay particular attention to the input of my personal time it would take to implement these goals. I must add that the results have always been good as I expected. Also, I never expected a particular reward for carrying out this or that task successfully. This was my duty as a soldier.

[Question] However, the time has come to be promoted to the rank of general.

[Answer] I received my general's epaulets when I was 43. I am saying sincerely that I did not anticipate that, but I was tremendously satisfied. My satisfaction was even greater when I visited my mother for the first time in my new uniform, a woman almost 80 years old. She was moved to tears.

[Question] Have you as the commander of this tank officer academy established certain objectives to be achieved?

[Answer] Certainly. Permanent modernization of weaponry and materiel, including tanks, requires a systematic adjustment of firing ranges and tactical

training grounds to provide adequate training conditions. We also have to modify the training program, and this requires considerable effort. Besides, we have worked out a realistic program to improve the living conditions of cadets. We will have to put in much effort to implement this program rapidly and with good results.

[Question] Do the cadets take their concerns to the commander?

[Answer] Quite often and not through official channels. I would not be exaggerating if I said that they respect and trust me. My primary concern is with their personal and family problems. I think that no family problem is complex enough to defy a successful solution of some kind. Recently, a fourth year cadet, married and the father of two children, visited me. He presented his problems to me in a sincere and open way. He was granted financial aid and an official leave to visit his family, despite martial law.

[Question] What is your idea of the good cadet?

[Answer] A commander--and this is what each cadet will become--must like the army, then the army will like the commander. One should live the life of a soldier every day. This will bear fruit in difficult moments. The cadet as a future officer must tirelessly work to shape his character. He can never restrict himself to just the knowledge he has gained in the academy. He must meet current and constantly increasing requirements and keep pace with the best. Besides, he must be honest and reliable in discharging his daily duties in everyday life. From this, we can expect results sooner or later.

[Question] Do you as a commandant have time for private life?

[Answer] I am an ordinary man. Recently, I celebrated the silver anniversary of my happy marriage. I have two grown children. My son is a precision equipment technician, my daughter, a student graduating from the school of medicine next year.

[Question] On behalf of our readers, I thank you, Citizen General, for this interesting interview and wish you further success in professional and life training of young cadets.

9761

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CHEMICAL UNIT TRAINING EXERCISE DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Mar 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Cadet Cpl Krzysztof Wroblewski: "Intensive Training Continues on the Ranges and Training Grounds: Chemical Reconnaissance Specialists"]

[Text] The chemical unit. The regular military day begins. Today, 1st Lt Andrzej Soltyszek's training subunit is being drilled at the base's center of tactical training. The purpose of the training is to acquaint the cadets with the activity of the chemical reconnaissance specialists on the contamination observation post, and with the methods of determining the parameters of nuclear blasts.

The training, under the supervision of the first lieutenant, is carried out by Platoon Cadet Leszek Bartowski. For him, this is a certain way of proving his teaching abilities which he gained during his studies at the Officers' Training School of the Army's Chemical Division. "During today's exercises, we will train in the tactics of the army's chemical division by drill," says Cadet Bartowski.

The cadets are divided into groups for more effective training. At the head of each group is a squad leader. Among these are experienced soldiers of the third-year class, corporals Bogdan Pyrczak and Adam Szpak. In their gas masks and protective clothing, the soldiers resemble astronauts. Moving through military exercises in such attire demands top physical condition.

What elements are the soldiers working on in today's exercises? The most important is becoming acquainted with the instruments for determining the parameters of nuclear blasts, and for detecting and analyzing contamination. Operation of chemical radiation gauges, automatic signaling devices and other equipment, and instruments of modern military technology, require top-notch specialists. Platoon cadet Bartowski will devote today's exercises to this subject. For this, what he has learned himself earlier will now pay off.

Not only the cadre running the exercises must have the appropriate amount of theoretical knowledge. Theoretical knowledge is required of the cadets also, as in determining the place and type of nuclear blast, and is necessary for effective observation of the meteorological conditions and other phenomena accompanying a nuclear blast.

Soldiers must be familiar with the equipment of the chemical reconnaissance specialist post, its use, and above all how to choose the optimum location for its deployment.

"The observation post is located near the area of the nuclear strike", emphasizes Lieutenant Soltysek. The job of the chemical reconnaissance specialists is a difficult and responsible one. Its essence lies in making information about the effects of a nuclear explosion known to all military, and above all to the staff, as quickly as possible."

The cadets know this—they try to perform the required exercises exactly and quickly under conditions as close to the requirements of the modern battlefield as possible. These are not the first exercises in which the superiors explain to the soldiers that only constant training can guarantee top fighting readiness. The constant repetition of simple actions will seem to the outside observer to be excessive. However, only in this way can perfection be achieved.

The soldiers set up the contamination observation post. To this purpose, they prepare the appropriately selected site with regard to the technology, they install the equipment—in accordance with the principles of military action. All this must be done within the designated time. This is not always possible on their first attempt.

Frozen ground creates difficulties in setting up the post. Much time is also taken to prepare the equipment for use. In this case, the advice of the leader of the subunit, and of the experienced third-year soldiers, is very helpful. During the break, the cadets can discuss their mistakes with their friends, but the superiors, who carefully observe each element of today's training, see the mistakes most clearly.

The exercises should bring concrete results and it is to this end that Bartkowiak consistently strives. In a certain sense, he too is being tested—on his abilities as a leader and instructor.

Hour after hour is spent on this training. The exercises near their end. The last part consists of test questions. The questions vary—they concern theory and practice. For most of the cadets, everything is clear. There are some, however, who have not completely mastered the lesson material. The recommendation of the superiors is that the squad leaders must work further with these cadets individually.

Sergeants Cichal and Budzynski are singled out for exemplary execution of the exercises.

5915

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MEDICAL MEASURES AGAINST PHOSPHOROORGANIC COMPOUNDS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 12, Dec 81 pp 1-4

[Article by Col (Prof dr habilitatus) Tadeusz Boszkiewicz: "Forms of Medical Aid for Injuries from Phosphoroorganic Compounds"]

[Text] Phosphoroorganic compounds belong to the most dangerous combat toxic agents. They include V-series gases, soman, sarin and tabun as well as numerous insecticides. The danger results from their highest toxicity of all toxic agents; their ability to penetrate an organism in every way including the skin, thus making it difficult to protect oneself from them; the lack of color and odor and the ability to injure in an unnoticeable way; great durability, fulminating development and the threat of death in 5 to 10 minutes without the proper aid. These data indicate that phosphoroorganic compounds can lead to massive mortality.

Phosphoroorganic compounds disturb enzyme balance, primarily in the area of nerve endings. The enzyme reacting with the most sensitivity to them is cholinesterase. This leads to the improper transmission of impulses in the so-called synapses and to a vital influence on the function of the vegetative and central nervous system.

Technical as well as medical measures are used for direct protection against injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds. Technical measures include collective ones such as bunkers and shelters and individual ones such as gas masks and protective clothing. By medical measures, we mean preventive measures, medical aid as well as treatment.

The detection of injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds is based on laboratory detection of cholinesterase in the blood. A drop in the enzyme indicates injury, while its increase indicates effective treatment.

Injury Clinic

All phosphoroorganic compounds give practically the same clinical picture of injuries. Above all, it [the clinical picture] depends on the dose amount and the means by which the toxic agent entered the organism. Inhalation injuries

may be light, medium or heavy, depending on the concentration of vapors and aerosols of toxic agents in the air, on exposure and on the condition of the organism.

Light injuries occur in concentrations of 0.001 to 1.00001 ml per liter of air and after short exposure. The first symptom is pain under the sternum. After 5 to 7 minutes, the pupils contract to a diameter of 1 to 2 mm; they do not dilate in the dark and vision becomes impaired. At the same time, headaches and weakness appear; heart activity slows or accelerates; nausea and nervous agitation set in. These symptoms persist for 2 to 5 days [24-hour periods]; after this, idiopathic healing takes place. Such injured persons do not require hospitalization but only outpatient treatment.

Medium injuries distinguish themselves above all by bronchial constriction and by asthma. Difficulty in breathing, excessive salivation, vomiting, stomach pains and diarrhea may be observed. Muscle spasms appear and tendon reflexes intensify; psychic arousal, fear, headache, disturbed thinking, insomnia and nightmares occur. At first, the general condition is serious; after 2 to 3 days there is improvement. For 1 to 2 weeks, a state of nervous tension persists; headaches occur. In the area of the heart, pulse arterial blood pressure fluctuations take place; insomnia occurs, as do unpleasant hallucinations and weakness. Hospitalization is required because it is never known whether spasms and suffocation will occur.

Serious injuries take on a convulsive-paralytic form. Three stages may be distinguished during the clinical course of the injury. The first one manifests itself by a rapid worsening of the general condition. This is expressed by contraction of the pupils, breathing disorders, constriction of the bronchi, shortness of breath and increased salivation. The following symptoms appear: psychomotor stimulation, dizziness, fear, disturbed awareness and speech as well as staggering, twitching of particular muscles, spasmodic stomach pains, vomiting and diarrhea. The pulse rate is accelerated, while the arterial blood pressure is elevated. Among the most dangerous symptoms are spasms, cyanosis and choking to the point of losing consciousness, as well as coma.

The most dangerous is the fulminating form of serious injury. The injured person usually loses consciousness immediately, followed by spasms, paralysis and, after 5 to 15 minutes, death.

Certain characteristic symptoms may be observed in the course of cutaneous injuries--combined and oral. Cutaneous injuries occur when the toxic agent enters the organism as a liquid, droplets or aerosols in heavy concentrations. The most dangerous, in this case, are V-series gases, which are very rapidly absorbed--in 10 to 30 minutes. The first symptom of injury is spasms in the area of absorption. Subsequently, other muscles are overcome by spasms. The use of gas mask prevents pupil constriction. However, a transcutaneous form of injury is, as a rule, considered dangerous. In combined injuries, the toxic agent reaches the wound in droplets or with contaminated fragments. One of the first symptoms is muscle spasms in the wound. The most dangerous wounds are extensive ones and those that have undergone necrotic changes.

However, these wounds do not differ from ordinary wounds. Oral injuries occur from consuming contaminated food and water. In 2 to 3 minutes, stomach pains, nausea, vomiting, diarrhea and salivation usually appear. Following this, rapid absorption of the toxic agent takes place as well as general injury (without pupil contraction if the toxic agent were not inhaled). The prognosis is always serious in the case of cutaneous, combined and oral injuries because the amount that entered the system cannot be determined.

Treatment with Antidotes

In connection with the hazard created by phosphoroorganic compounds, many studies were conducted in order to find proper antidotes. In general, these antidotes are divided into 1) cholinolytics and 2) cholinesterase-reactivating substances. Cholinolytics are functional antidotes that block symptoms of stimulation of cholinergic systems. Cholinesterase-reactivating substances are detoxifying antidotes that react chemically with phosphoroorganic compounds; as a result, they restore cholinesterase activity following its blockage or do not permit its blockage if they are used preventively before the phosphoroorganic compounds can produce an effect.

Atropine, above all, belongs to the cholinolytics. Its functioning depends on combining with cholinergic systems of synapses, blocking them and preventing the action of the accumulated acetylcholine. That is why atropine tolerates the muscarine like action of phosphoroorganic compounds very well and, if administered in time, it saves lives in injuries from 1 to 2 lethal doses. Unfortunately, atropine has a weak effect on the elimination of the nicotine like central action of phosphoroorganic compounds, even after large doses of this drug. A 0.1 solution of atropine sulfate in 1-ml ampules is administered (1 ml of the solution contains 1 mg of atropine).

Ordinary curative doses are ineffective in injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds and they must be repeated. In light injuries, the administration of 1 mg subcutaneously 3 to 4 times during a 24-hour period suffices; in medium injuries, 2 to 4 mg are given and repeated, with 1 to 2 mg every half-hour until the general condition improves or symptoms of atropine overdosing appear. In serious injuries, during the spasmodic stage 4 to 6 mg are introduced, with 1 to 2 mg given every 3 to 8 minutes until the spasm disappears or symptoms of atropine overdosing appear. During the first days, atropine dosage may reach 100 to 200 mg. With large doses of atropine, the possibility of overdosing should be taken into account, the symptoms are: dryness of the mouth, dilation of the pupils, thirst, hoarseness, tachycardia, psychoses, disorientation, anxiety and delirium. The contraindication for use is usually tachycardia, which can change into auricular fibrillation.

In order to compensate for the weak effect of atropine on nicotineline central symptoms of injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds, cholinolytics that have a central effect are used. In Soviet literature, this includes afin, taren and tsiklozil. Afin is produced in disposable syringes for injection subcutaneously and intramuscularly in doses of 1 to 3 ml, repeated with 1 to 2 ml doses. Taren is administered in 1-ml ampules and 0.2g-tablets. Tsiklozil is administered as a 3 percent solution subcutaneously in 0.5-ml doses.

Cholinolytics are most effective when administered prior to symptoms of serious injury. Other well-known cholinolytics may also be used, such as metaniryl, benzacetyl, arpenal, aprofen and scopolamine. The use of tranquilizers such as seduxen (diazepam) and phenothiazine derivatives such as dinesine is recommended.

Cholinesterase-reactivating substances are capable of bonding phosphoroorganic compounds in the organism, separating their molecules from cholinesterase and restoring enzyme activity. Hydroxamates and oximes belongs to cholinesterase reactors. Among the most effective are 2-PAM, dipiroxym, propane dibromide (TMB-4), isonitroxyne and obidoxym. The administration of cholinesterase reactors considerably increases therapeutic action in serious injury from phosphoroorganic compounds. These substances also demonstrate a certain cholinolytic effect and in particular improve breathing. During their use, blood tests should be performed for cholinesterase content and observation of enzyme activity. Cholinesterase-reactivating agents should be used in conjunction with cholinolytics because cholinesterase reactivation proceeds relatively slowly and gradually.

All antidotes are most effective if administered prophylactically and as a composite, as, for example, the combination of atropine and prozerine and of cholinesterase reactivator. In the Soviet civil defense system, taren in 0.2-g tablets is a substance that should be administered 30 to 60 minutes before the danger signal. Protection lasts for 4 to 6 hours.



Fig. 1. A--pupil in a normal state,
B--pupil contraction
resulting from the action
of phosphoroorganic
compounds.



Fig. 2. Mask for a person
with head injuries.

Symptomatic Treatment

With injuries, particularly serious ones, symptomatic treatment is important, above all, the treatment of hypoxia and the restoration of or assistance in breathing. Artificial respiration has a particular purpose. Manual methods have little effect because of contraction of the bronchi and a large amount of secretion in the bronchial tree. What does matter is the use of the mouth-to-mouth and mouth-to-nose methods of artificial respiration with the aid of proper apparatus. The mouth-esophagus tube is of great importance. The disadvantage of this type of artificial respiration is that it can be used only after moving the contaminated person from the site of the chemical injury and removing the gas mask. An important role is also played by the following cardiovascular drugs: anticonvulsion drugs, diastolic drugs, sedatives, antidotes as well as drugs preventing pulmonary complications.

Prevention and Medical Aid during Evacuation

Protective measures may prevent injury entirely or may considerably diminish its effect. Medical aid must take place concurrently with protective measures, particularly individual measures. From the medical point of view, this includes antidotes in personal medical kits (individual radiation-protection packs) and decontamination agents in individual antichemical packs. Rescue teams are equipped with these. Medical first aid at the site of injury from phosphoroorganic compounds is significant since the life of the injured person depends on the speed of administration and the use of proper procedures.

Principal functions include measures preventing the penetration of toxic agents inside the organism, the early use of antidotes and evacuation of the injured. Medical first aid, in this case, has the character of self-aid and mutual aid as well as premedical aid rendered by medical squads.

The extent of medical first aid is medical treatment of the face and removal of the remainder of the toxin from mucous membranes, skin and clothing. A 2 percent solution of sodium bicarbonate (baking soda), physiological salt solution and water are best suited for flushing the conjunctival eye sac. Following this, a gas mask is put on or replaced if inappropriate or defective. Rescuers should have a supply of gas masks. There are even special masks for head injury victims. Later, an antidote is injected with a disposable syringe from personal medical kits (individual radiation-protection packs) in the form of atropine (Soviet afin). The next procedure is partial medical measures on the exposed parts of the body with the aid of decontaminants from individual antichemical packs. In case of their shortage, the following may be used to disinfect the skin: a 10 percent solution of sodium bicarbonate (baking soda), 2 percent lye solutions, mild solution of ammonia, or soap and water.

Evacuation from the site of chemical injury should take place in such a way so as to prevent secondary injury. In case of vomiting, the gas mask should be removed and cleaned. In case of breathing disorders, after the injured person is removed from the contaminated zone, the gas mask and contaminated clothing are removed, and artificial respiration is administered.

In the case of combined injuries, the wound is dressed with decontaminants from the individual antichemical packs; a personal dressing is applied to the wound. In the case of bilateral injuries, gastric lavage is performed without a probe by having the injured person drink 0.5 to 1 liter of water and causing a vomiting reflex. Premedical aid is based on evacuating injured persons and administering medical first aid. As a rule, premedical first aid would be administered at the center of massive losses. Because of this, it must be limited in character. Premedical first aid may be given, to its full extent, outside the contaminated area and when the number of injuries is slight. The most important measures are the administering or repeating of antidotes with a wide-ranging effect: 1 to 2 ampules of atropine, 1 ampule of 2-PAM, TMB-4 or toxogonine and the application of artificial respiration and oxygen. In the case of a massive influx of injured persons, medical first aid would be given on a limited scale, mainly to maintain vital life signs.

A regular post would regulate the flow of injured persons. In principle, it would direct the injured to the site of partial, specialized treatment. This is also the site of medical classification into the following groups: 1) persons with light injuries who can be given medical first aid only during the next phase of evacuation (if possible, they will again be given antidotes and directed toward evacuation); 2) those seriously injured, requiring professional, medical aid as indicated by their life signs; 3) those with medium injuries. The necessity is not excluded of separating those who are in agony and in a deep coma to whom symptomatic treatment will be given. During classification, there is little possibility for determining the extent of clothing contamination; thus, taking into account the great toxicity of phosphoroorganic compounds and their lack of a characteristic odor, everyone would be subjected to partial, special treatment; i.e., treatment involving the exposed parts of the body. They would be treated with decontaminants from the individual antichemical packs or from all-purpose anti-chemical packs that contain dry decontaminants. Those who are seriously affected would have their clothing and gas mask removed and be directed to the admission and classification section of the medical site for emergency aid. The slightly injured would be evacuated in gas masks until the next phase.

The usual extent of professional, medical first aid involves emergency treatment and postponable treatment. Emergency treatment includes the use of a complex of antidotes--i.e., cholinolytics (atropine, afin); a cholinesterase-reactivating agent (dipiroxym) and, if necessary, seducsen in doses according to body weight; oxygen artificial respiration and a repeat of antidotes for the seriously injured; cardiovascular measures; anticonvulsion drugs and sedatives in the case of spasms despite a three-time injection of antidotes as well as gastric lavage; and the administration of an absorbing agent in the case of oral injuries. Treatment that can be delayed includes administering oxygen to those with medium injuries, washing contaminated wounds with a 2 percent solution of sodium bicarbonate and the injecting antibiotics into the seriously injured in order to prevent choking lung inflammation.

Within the framework of qualified medical aid, medical classification is in the foreground at the classification site. The medical teams would divide the injured into those with light, medium and serious injuries. Those with light injuries would be directed to a special treatment station while the seriously injured, especially those in convulsions, would be brought to the admission and classification room for the injured or to an antishock unit for revival and antidotes.

The further procedure of administering first aid follows.

Those with light injuries would be injected with antidotes at the classification site or in the waiting area of the special treatment station. Next, they would undergo full medical treatment [opracowanie]. Then they would be directed to an evacuation room or to a convalescent unit.

The seriously injured in a convulsion, should have their clothing removed before being brought into enclosed quarters. In the admission and classification room or in the waiting area of the special treatment station, they would be given antidotes (cholinolytics and a cholinesterase-reactivating substance), seducsen and symptomatic measures (oxygen, cordials, sedatives, etc.). After the general condition improves, the victim would be sent to a special treatment station and later placed in a hospital ward. Intensive treatment is continued with antidotes and symptomatic measures for 1 to 2 days. In the case of respiratory disorders, artificial respiration, intubation and controlled breathing are employed. All seriously injured persons are given antibiotics in order to prevent choking lung inflammation.

In a certain group of injured persons, considerable psychic disturbances may occur; they should be placed in an isolation cell for the mentally disturbed. The disturbances may result from the action of toxic agents and overdosing of cholinolytics, particularly, atropine. In the first instance, evidence of injury from phosphoroorganic compounds will be pupil contraction, salivation and muscle spasms. In order to eliminate these symptoms, antidotes, sedatives and relaxants should be given. In the case of overdosing with cholinolytics psycho-motor disturbances, delirium, hallucinations, pupil dilation, dryness of the mouth, tachycardia, and dryness and redness of the skin will occur. In order to eliminate these symptoms, limunal, barbamid and medinal are used, and in serious cases pilocarpine and acetylcholine.

In combined injuries, after bringing the injured person out of a serious condition, primary surgical treatment of the wound would be performed and then the victim evacuated to an internal or toxicological hospital.

Specialized aid would be given in the hospital. Its extent would depend on the condition of the injured person and on previous treatment. The use of antidotes would be continued; cholinolytics or cholinesterase-reactivating substances would be used, depending on the indications. Most often, this would be a cycle supporting previous treatment. Symptomatic measures would be used concurrently. Should psychic disturbances continue, such as fear, disorientation, hallucinations and insomnia, sedatives would be suggested. Antidepressants are indispensable during depression. Primary attention would

focused on the state of respiratory and cardiovascular organs. Oxygen and antibiotics are invaluable. Some victims would be sent to a neurological hospital.

The prevention and treatment of injuries from phosphoroorganic compounds constitute a complex problem, one not totally clear in terms of merit or organization. The effectiveness of treatment is quite high if the removal of toxic substances, the administration of antidotes and the support of vital life functions are carried out without delay at the site of the accident and continued during the stages of medical evacuation as well as under conditions of stationary treatment. Of vital significance in these procedures is the proper preparation of the community in giving first aid and in the use of emergency or standard preventive measures against chemical weapons.

9853

CSO: 2600/324

DEFECTS IN PROCESS OF ADMITTING PARTY MEMBERS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Apr 82 pp 2-6

[Unsigned article: "High Political, Moral and Professional Qualities - Essential Criteria for Continuing To Strengthen the Ranks of the Party"]

[Text] The plenary session of the RCP Central Committee on 31 March of this year discussed problems of maximum significance for the country's economic and social development and for the continued strengthening of the party's leading role, which reflect the multilateral activities of the party organs and organizations, the state organs and the organs of workers democracy in all sectors for the purpose of firmly carrying out the historic decisions of the 12th RCP Congress.

The broad speech presented in the plenary session by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the discussions that took place regarding the reports that were presented (regarding the economic-financial situation for the overall national economy, stemming from a review of 1981; the achievement of the program to produce electrical energy during the current five year plan and the development of Romania's energy base by 1990; the results of the census of domestic animals of 1 February 1982 and certain measures to improve self-management and territorial self-supply; the work to increase and strengthen the ranks of the party; the manner in which the party's cadres policy was expressed last year; the concern for the solution of the workers' proposals, reports, complaints and requests; and the party's and state's international activities in 1981) and the unanimity with which the decisions were adopted that are designed to lead to gaining new and significant successes in all the fields that were dealt with place this plenary session among the outstanding moments of the country's political and social-economic affairs. These are also distinguished by the powerful dynamism that they give to the sustained efforts to eliminate shortcomings and overcome all difficulties and to directly move our nation along the path brightly outlined by the Romanian Communist Party's Revolutionary Program for Struggle.

In this framework, the examination of the report regarding the strength, composition and organizational structure of the party on 31 December 1981 powerfully pointed out the sustained concern of the party organs and organizations to implement the decisions of the 12th Congress, the March 1981 RCP Central Committee plenary session and the directives of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the numerical and qualitative growth of the ranks of our communist party.

A Powerful Attractive Force Among the Broad Masses of the People

As was the evaluation of the plenary session, the special prestige that our party enjoys among the broad ranks of the people and its powerful political influence among their ranks have also caused, last year, numerous workers to express their firm desire to enroll in its ranks in order to make their contribution in an organized manner to the fulfillment of the noble goals written on its revolutionary banner, which express, in a practical sense, the vital interests of the entire nation. In this regard, it is worth noting that fact that, under conditions of a considerable increase in exigencies regarding the moral-political and professional qualities of those who have requested to become party members, during 1981 141,460 workers were received into the party, or approximately 9,000 more than in the previous year, with 86 percent of them coming from the ranks of the workers and peasants.

On 31 December 1981, the strength of the Romanian Communist Party was 3,150,812 party members, with 75.03 percent of the total number of communists carrying out their activities in the area of material production (see cover number IV).

The fact that 20.31 percent of the adult population and 30.44 percent of the people employed in industry, agriculture and the other fields of economic and social affairs belong to the Romanian Communist Party demonstrate its powerful organizational force and the full adherence of all the people and all the workers - Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities - to its domestic and foreign policies and their indissoluble unity around the party and the secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu - the most beloved son of our nation and a prominent personality of contemporary political affairs.

"We can state," comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his speech at the recent Central Committee plenary session, "that we have a powerful, well-organized party with a good structure from all points of view, a young party also from a physical point of view, so to speak, and also young with regards to its revolutionary concept about the world and life. It is a party with an updated revolutionary concept that looks forward and it is firm in eliminating everything that no longer corresponds to the progress for ensuring the move forward to communism."

In agreement with the consistent guidelines of the higher party leadership regarding the strengthening of the party's revolutionary class nature and the development of a powerful workers nucleus within its ranks, the party organs and organizations have ensured the acceptance of over 100,000 workers into the party during last year, which contributed to increasing their percentage in the party from 54.62 percent, at the end of 1980, to 55.14 percent. Priority was given to strengthening the party organizations in those industrial branches with a decisive role in the country's continuing progress.

As the plenary session established, the party organs and organizations will continue to be directed towards the priority acceptance into the party of highly qualified workers from all the branches of the national economy, with these workers coming to represent, this year, 55 to 65 percent of the total number of workers that will be accepted into the party and special attention being given to increasing the percentage of party members among the total numbers of personnel in machine-building, electronics and chemical industries, in construction sites, in forestry economy and in the new industrial enterprises, as well as in the smelting, forging, treatment and tooling sections and shops.

For the purpose of raising the leading role of the party organizations in agriculture to a higher level - with agriculture being a basic branch of the national economy, the county party committees gave greater attention to strengthening the ranks of the base organizations in the villages. The plenary session noted that, although it has not reached a satisfactory situation, the trend of year-to-year decreases in the number of party members in the villages was stopped. At the same time, the fact should be noted that while good results were obtained in Teleorman, Olt, Bistrita-Nasaud, Suceava, Ialomita and Vaslui counties in carrying out political-organizational work to strengthen the party organizations in rural areas, with peasants representing between 25 and 28 percent of the total numbers received into the party, in other counties, such as Arad, Bihor, Constanta, Covasna, Galati, Harghita, Iasi, Mures, Tulcea, Timis, Sibiu and Brasov, consistency and perseverance were not shown, with the percentage of peasants in the total number of those received into the party being much below the level established by the party leadership. As has been directed, those county party committees that did not adhere to this level in 1981 will establish appropriate actions in a meeting with their activists during the first semester of this year in order to substantially improve the work of strengthening the ranks of the party organizations in the villages. Beginning with the need to continue to increase the role of political-organizational work among the ranks of the peasantry, who are involved in the process of a profound revolution in agriculture, the plenary session asked the party organizations in the rural areas to continue to ensure that peasants will represent a minimum of 15 percent of the total number of those who are accepted into party, and in those counties where the number of people employed in agriculture is greater, peasants will represent at least 25 percent of the new party members.

Keeping in mind the role of the intelligentsia in the country's economic-social affairs, in 1981 19,361 intellectuals were received into the party - engineers, technicians, teaching faculty, specialists with higher training and students - who are making special contributions to carrying out the party's decisions and the country's laws in the groups to which they belong.

In light of the directives of the party leadership regarding the intensification of political-organizational work among the ranks of women, so that by the 13th MCP Congress their percentage in the party will reach 34-35 percent, the

party organs and organizations took the necessary measures by receiving 65,000 women into the party in 1981, which led to an increase in their percentage in the total number of party members from 28.71 percent in 1980 to 29.62 percent in 1981. In a number of counties, including Olt, Suceava, Neamt, Arges, Botosani, Dolj and so forth, the percentage of women in the total number of those received into the party was between 50 and 56 percent. In other counties, such as Gorj, Brasov, Caras-Severin, Giurgiu, Galati, Covasna and Iasi, because of a poorer activity the percentage of women given the title of communist was below the national average. In order to increase the percentage of women in the party, the Central Committee plenary session established that this year women will represent a minimum of 50 percent of the total number of people received into the party.

The concerns of the party organs and organizations for rejuvenating the ranks of the party with young people resulted in the fact that over 71 percent of the party members accepted in 1981 come from the Union of Communist Youth. In order to maintain a stable balance in the groups of party members according to age groupings, it was decided that this year at least 70 percent of those received into the party will come from the ranks of the Union of Communist Youth.

According to the evaluations made by the plenary session, the nationality composition of the party corresponds to the nationality structure in our country, which eloquently expresses the justness of the party's nationality policy of equal rights for all workers, regardless of their nationality.

The High Title of Communist - Given to the Best of the Best Workers

The steadfast carrying out of the program documents adopted by the 12th RCP Congress, the decisions of the Central Committee and the directives of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu requires raising the political and organizational activities of all party organs and organizations to an ever higher level in order, first of all, to permanently strengthen the ranks of the party from a qualitative point of view. For the purpose of attaining this fundamental objective, the Central Committee plenary session directed the county, municipal, city and town party committees and the party committees and base organization bureaus in enterprises, institutes and agricultural units to give priority in the future to the moral-political and professional qualities of those received into the party, ensuring that the high title of communist is given only to those workers who, through all their activities, prove that they are decisively fighting to implement our party's and state's policies and are consistently militating for the rational use of material resources, the conservation of fuels and energy, the strengthening of technological discipline, the growth of the efficiency of economic activities and the strict adherence to the norms of social behavior.

As was stressed in the plenary session, each time it is found that some party members are lightly recommending the acceptance of certain inappropriate elements into the party, it is necessary for these base organization bureaus

to place these party members into discussion at the general assemblies, which will call them to task for violating statutory provisions. This must be since, as has happened last year in Teleorman, Vilcea, Dimbovita, Hunedoara, Prahova and Suceava counties and Bucharest municipality, some base organizations, showing their superficiality and lack of responsibility, accepted people into the party who did not merit this honor. Furthermore, the fact must be stressed that precisely because of the poor exigency expressed in some countries in the work of accepting people into the party, as well as the shortcomings in political-educational activities, the behaviors of certain party members showed traits foreign to communist morals - the failure to carry out professional obligations and tasks entrusted to them, the failure to consider the norms of party discipline, dishonest acts, tendencies marked by favoritism, unworthy behavior in the family and society and the practicing of mystical and obscurantist rituals, which resulted in their exclusion from the party. The review and guidance exercised by the local party organs and the party committees and base organization bureaus in enterprises, institutes and agricultural units sometimes had a formal nature and did not pursue with the necessary exigency the manner in which the base organizations tried to resolve especially important problems, such as: the strengthening of organizational affairs, the proper preparation and execution of general assemblies, the improvement of educational activities, the integration of newly accepted party members in the sphere of concerns of these organizations, the strict adherence of all communists to statutory provisions and the prevention of violations of party discipline and socialist legalities.

The plenary session asked the party organs and organizations to give increased attention to raising the political-ideological level of communists by enriching the content of party education and by furthering the knowledge of party documents, the country's laws and the exceptionally significant theoretical and practical guidelines and directives issued by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party.

Similarly, after the conclusion of those actions to complete the high school studies for those party members up to age 30 who had not completed their general education, it is necessary to continue with the concerns to improve party members' professional and general cultural training, in this regard supporting the efforts of the more than 21,000 communists who are taking evening courses or correspondence courses in higher education and the more than 86,000 communists enrolled in specialized high schools.

For the purpose of precisely carrying out the party leadership's guidelines regarding the strengthening of work to receive people into the party, the Central Committee plenary session of 31 March 1982, decided upon a group of political, organizational and educational measures of special significance, including: the introduction of the requirement for the participation of the secretaries of the party base organizations in the meetings of the Union of Communist Youth organizations that discuss recommendations for accepting people into the party; the establishment, as a norm in accepting people into

the party, of hearings each year in the general assemblies of the base organizations regarding certain reports made by those communists who have the obligation of being involved with new party party so that they can be integrated as quickly as possible into the affairs and work of these organizations; the introduction of the rule that, at the beginning of each year, there will be an analysis based on certain reports presented by the secretaries of the base organizations of the activities carried out for the qualitative and numerical strengthening of these organizations; the organization, during the first semester of the year and conducted by the bureaus of the county, municipal and city party committees, of certain exchanges of experience in the party organizations having the best results in the work of accepting people into the party; on the occasion of instructing the newly elected party organs, the holding of seminars on the instructions regarding accepting people into the party and initiating certain methodical discussions in this regard, actions headed by the members of the bureaus of the county party committees and other responsible activists, and so forth.

The making of certain sustained efforts during this year by the party organs and organizations for raising the activities for accepting new people into the party to a qualitatively higher level and the increase in exigency regarding the professional, political and moral qualities of those asking to receive the high title of communist constitute the certain guarantee for increasing their leading role in society and carrying out the inspiring objectives established by the 12th RCP Congress.

8724

CSO: 2700

NOTES ON BEHAVIOR OF PARTY OFFICIALS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Apr 82 pp 86-91

[Unsigned article: "Although the General Assembly Did Not Meet, Nonetheless, a Non-existent Decision To Receive Someone Into the Party Was Confirmed"]

[Text] During the time that he held the position of secretary of the No 2 base organization within the framework of the Calarasi County Construction-Assembly Trust [CCCAT], in Calarasi municipality, Ion Zaharcu bureaucratically drew up a plan that contained, on a monthly basis, the names of those persons who were to be given the title of communist.

What would happen if one month he did not succeed in fulfilling the "plan"? Ion Zaharcu told us: "In the following month, we would automatically accept two members into the party." Since the date was approaching when he had to hold the committee meeting in which the decisions of the general assembly for accepting people into the party would be examined, and organization No 2 had not received anyone into the party that month, Ion Zaharcu went to work so as "not to be criticized." He quickly called comrade Vasile Zangorescu and told him: "Give me a recommendation for accepting the electrician Gheorghe Platarescu into the party!" He wrote up the recommendation and gave it to him. He then called the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] organization, comrade Constantin Radulescu (since Platarescu was a member of the UCY) and asked him to give a recommendation on behalf of the UCY organization. Radulescu quickly wrote one, without omitting the statement that the recommendation was issued after discussions that were held in the meeting of the UCY organization (a meeting that had not taken place), where the secretary of the base organization was also supposedly present. With these concocted documents, I. Zaharcu presented a folder for approval by the bureau of the base organization, receiving approval to recommend him to the general assembly for acceptance into the party. But, the general assembly did not take place. Despite this, in the folder a false statement appeared, written by Zaharcu, which stated that those who spoke agreed with Platarescu's acceptance into the party and that the communists voted unanimously to accept him into the party. Then, upon a typical request the assembly's "decision" was made, the "Solemn Pledge" was entered into the file and Gheorghe Platarescu was presented to the party committee for confirmation of the general assembly's decision.

Unfortunately, superficiality also reigned within the party committee. Its secretary, comrade Ion Burcea, as well as other members of the committee, easily passed over the contents of the file that was presented, confirming the general assembly's decision to accept Platarescu into the party. At the same time, Gheorghe Platarescu, helping this farce along, kept his mouth shut, accepting his party membership through dishonest means.

Actually, it would have been easy enough for the party committee and the delegate from the municipal committee, comrade Vasile Ichim, to find out that not a single member or activist from the Calarasi Municipal Party Committee had participated in the pretend general assembly and that the "Solemn Pledge" had not been signed by Gheorghe Platarescu. There were indicators that should have increased their vigilance. But, this did not happen.

This false situation was barely discovered at the municipal party committee by the chief of the sector for statutory affairs, documentation and party member records, comrade Vasile Dragomir, who immediately notified the former secretary for organizational affairs at the municipal committee, comrade Ilie Iosif. So that they would not be held responsible, they preferred not to inform the Calarasi County Party Committee, but to obtain a withdrawal of the decision to admit Gheorghe Platarescu into the party from the secretariat of the municipal committee and to place Ion Zaharcu in discussion before the party committee at the CCCAT, with a proposal to remove the secretary of the base organization from his position and sanction him with a "vote of censure".

The measures that were proposed prove that even at the level of the municipal party committee there was no appreciation for the seriousness of the violations that had been committed. And, in the end, they were not applied, being rejected by the party committee at the CCCAT and replaced - this is unbelievable - with the unanimously taken decision to sanction Zaharcu with a "reprimand". And, all this took place in the presence of comrade Vasile Ichim, an activist from the municipal party committee who proved that he was not capable of getting the committee members to understand that a very serious violation had occurred.

A tolerant spirit was also shown by the municipal committee: after receiving the investigation and sanctions file, the former secretary of the municipal party committee, comrade Ilie Iosif, instead of placing this case in discussion before the municipal committee's secretariat, it stated that it agreed with the "reprimand" and maintaining Ion Zaharcu in his position as secretary of the base organization.

Unfortunately, things did not stop here. Just several weeks later, we find Gheorghe Platarescu among the ranks of party members. How was this possible? Ion Zaharcu, with the agreement of Ion Burcea, who was then secretary of the party committee at the trust, recommended to Gheorghe Platarescu that he request acceptance into the party. From this point, the operations were carried

not in the following manner: Zaharcu removed the bureau's recommendation, the autobiography and the "Solemn Pledge" from the file and placed them in the new file. A new recommendation was requested from party member Vasile Langerescu and, on behalf of the UCY, Constantin Radulescu. The first was turned over immediately. The second one came several days later. Despite the fact that the UCY organization's recommendation had still not been received, the base organization bureau gave its approval to recommend Gheorghe Platarescu to the general assembly for acceptance into the party. A week later, Constantin Radulescu came forward with the requested recommendation, a recommendation that once again had not been discussed in the assembly of the UCY organization. Neither the autobiography, the recommendations nor the recommendation of the bureau mentioned a word about what had happened previously, about the false statements that had been made, about the sanctions that had been issued and about the fact that Gheorghe Platarescu had also been dishonest when he accepted party membership by means outside the statutes. Thus, the general assembly, following the request of the bureau, voted for Gheorghe Platarescu's acceptance into the party. The party committee's confirmation of the decision was carried out without any problems. Although everyone knew, no one said anything about the violations that had taken place. Later, the municipal party committee secretariat decided upon the completion and issuing of party documents.

Notified of these serious violations of statutory provisions, the Calarasi County Party Committee required the municipal party committee to exclude Ion Zaharcu from the party for the wrongs that had been committed and to exclude Gheorghe Platarescu from the party for insincerity towards the party. Similarly, it sanctioned Ion Burcea with a "vote of censure with a warning" and excluded him from the CCCAT, while Constantin Radulescu was punished with a "vote of censure with a warning" because he issued a recommendation in the name of the UCY organization.

The following were also sanctioned with a "vote of censure": Mircea Istrate, the former deputy-secretary of the CCCAT party committee, Ilie Iosif, the former secretary of the municipal party committee, and Vasile Dragonir and Vasile Ichim, activists of the municipal party committee. A "reprimand" was given to Lucian Muntean, an activist at the municipal party committee.

This case was broadly discussed with the entire party aktiv in the county. Certainly, this measure was welcomed. Nonetheless, because of what happened the bureau of the Calarasi County Party Committee must draw certain conclusions regarding the quality and efficiency of its own review activities. This is so because, without a doubt, a systematic concern for the precise adherence to statutory provisions regarding accepting people into the party and a more careful guidance of those activities dedicated to strengthening the ranks of the party organizations would have been capable of avoiding the commission of such serious violations of the norms for accepting people into the party.

Among Those Who Made Mistakes, One is Sanctioned Mildly, While Others Are Completely Overlooked

It was long ago proven that the success of the work of any party and state activist directly depends upon the unaltered maintenance of his moral profile, the exemplary behavior of activists under all circumstances, the placing of general interests above all others and the implacable struggle against any tendencies of abuse and dishonesty.

The movement into directions opposite to these requirements brings about serious damage. This is the conclusion that also comes out of what happened with Dumitru Cotofana, the former secretary of the Vagiulesti Town Party Committee in Gorj County. In 1981, he took pigs for his own use from the agricultural production cooperative and intervened so that other acquaintances of his could make purchases based on.... estimates of weight without weighing the animals. For some of the sessions organized at the town-level, he showed up late, with the people being required to wait for him. Sometimes he also came to work late. Especially serious is the fact that countless times he appeared before the people, particularly at the agricultural production cooperative, after he had consumed an excessive amount of alcoholic beverages. Although helped by the county party committee bureau, he continued to use a defective style in working with people, to neglect the application of certain party and state decisions and to favor his relatives and friends in procuring certain goods from the production cooperative and so forth.

For all this, the county party committee took the step of removing him from his positions as secretary of the town party committee and mayor. This was a measure that was required, naturally, by the seriousness of the deeds that had been committed. And, nonetheless, they required much more firmness and exigency regarding the former mayor.

We cannot omit the fact that the former secretary of the town party committee did everything within the sight of other communists, and especially some within the agricultural production cooperative. It was necessary, therefore, to examine the case in all its implications, also taking a firm attitude towards all those who, in one way or another, favored the deviations of the person removed from office. Just as there should also be a need felt to analyze the quality of the work to guide and review the party activists who went into this town and the organizer from the county party committee for the unified agroindustrial council that also covered the town of Vagiulesti, and the causes that allowed these shortcomings to go on for a long period of time.

Advantage Was Taken of an Approval, One Valid, However, for Another Situation

A group headed by a secretary of the Brasov County Party Committee investigated violations reported in connection with the manner in which certain privately-owned apartments were allotted on Traian Vuia street in Brasov.

The review showed the fact that, initially, this group of 30 privately-owned apartments was to be built by the Brasov Construction Trust for a residents association of 21 workers from different professions, including workers, within the Trust, as well as 9 personnel with diverse leadership positions in other institutions. Later, the local organs withdrew approval for this residents association, with the apartments being allocated to the Brasov Construction Trust.

Unfortunately, in this new situation the structure of the residents association was maintained, with the listing of those who were to become the owners of the new housing units being approved by the trust's workers council and with the listing being endorsed by the former first vice president in the name of the executive committee of the county people's council. In these circumstances, it is clear that they did not fully adhere to the legal provisions since the nine people from outside of the construction trust should have had the approval of the collective leadership organs of the units where these people worked.

It is clear to see the ease with which the approval of the executive committee of the county people's council was considered valid for both totally different situations, ignoring an entire system of approval by the workers councils for the people who were to be allocated housing units. Just as there is also an absence of any type of review on the part of the party organs and this shows up in all its consequences. Furthermore, this was noticed during the entire construction period, which also led to a failure to adhere to the general work estimates.

On the basis of the conclusions of the investigation, the county party committee secretariat also established the necessary measures that applied party sanctions to those responsible for these serious violations.

It is also good that those who, for their own good, were inclined to not respect the general estimates were required, as was decided, to contribute to the recovery of the amount of money above the estimates, while those who should have carried out the preventative review at the construction trust and did not carry it out were also sanctioned.

It would have been opportune and necessary, however, to also adopt other measures that would ensure the prevention of the appearance of such illegalities and to exercise a systematic, preventative review designed to increase the responsibility of those called upon to see to the adherence to legalities.

What the Mayor Should Have Done and What He Did

To hold the positions of secretary of the town party committee and mayor means, implicitly, dedicating yourself, body and soul, to the work of improving the town and militating firmly so that party and state activities will take place

under the best possible conditions. It is a proven fact that the prestige of this type of personnel is built precisely upon the firm application of party and state decisions, upon their service to the people's interests and upon avoiding any deviations from the principles and norms of communist work and life and socialist ethics and equity.

Those who lose sight of such important requirements sooner or later encounter the contempt of the citizens. This is what happened with Constantin Cioclov, the former secretary of the Poroina Mare Town Party Committee in Mehedinti County. Although helped numerous times in order to improve his work style and methods, he continued to neglect the proper preparation of plenary sessions of the town committee, sessions of the people's councils, the party committee bureau and the executive bureau of the people's councils, and the general assemblies of the base organizations, which negatively reflected upon the activities in diverse fields, especially in agriculture. Production was much below planned levels, the administration of the town left much to be desired and so forth.

If he was not fully responsible for the fulfillment of his tasks, what was the secretary of the town party committee and mayor doing? In abusing his position, he required the president of the production cooperative involved in the acquisition and sale of goods to sell him 50 kg of sugar, which generated an inappropriate atmosphere in the town. He tolerated the situation where the former vice president of the executive bureau of the people's council, Dragos Gorunescu, held, together with his father, an area of land for their use larger than that allowed according to the Agricultural Production Cooperative Statute, while the wife of the vice president, the coordinating director of the town schools, was unjustifiably and without approval absent from the school.

As can be seen, under the administration of the mayor sufficiently serious shortcomings sprung up and developed. Naturally, the county party committee secretariat decided to remove him and Dragos Gorunescu from their positions, as well as Mihai Ghitulescu, the president at the production cooperative involved in the acquisition and sale of goods.

...And the Cider Clouded Their Minds, Causing Them to Honor Thievery

At the Tirgu Mures Complex for the Sale of Agricultural Products, a unit belonging to the County State Agricultural Enterprise Trust, people pursuing money profited fully from the superficiality expressed in their work as personnel having responsible positions, creating an original system for siphoning off public property.

The source? Apples that had been depreciated prior to their sale in sales units (and they were careful to create a certain stock level so that the delays in sales would bring about an increase in the amounts of fruit that could not be sold and whose sole destination was the production of cider and brandy).

The conditions? The production itself of cider and brandy from apples by violating legal norms that prohibit the processing of beverages in any commercial complex and require these items to be turned over to specialized units. In the Tirgu Mures Complex for the Sale of Agricultural Products, however, in an abusive manner they produced cider and brandy from depreciated fruits. And, not with the knowledge of the entire group, but out of the sight of the people in a locality approximately 50 km from the center of the county, in the town of Nades where the technician Ion Uricaru was involved in distilling marcs in boilers in the town, with the evidence held showing such advantages that those involved could not quite keep quiet.

Thus, compared to the efficiency calculated in a comparative check made by the competent organs, the amount of brandy registered by the clandestine producers was 7,255 liters short, worth 387,515 lei, in other words, this sum of money was divided in a brotherly manner (or, better put, like thieves) between those entrusted with all the prerogatives of management and administration. Six of the accomplices - Ion Uricaru, Ioan Cozma, Florentina Sintean, Balasz Szilagyi, Iuliana Ferenczi and Viorica Jovna - felt the impact of the law, receiving criminal sentences and, as is normal, for these deeds they were placed in discussion before the workers' assembly, yielding graphic conclusions for the entire collective. In his position as director of the unit, Milica Giurea should have shown firmness in applying and adhering to the provisions of normative acts and ensured a rigor record keeping on goods, a correct materials use and a combativeness towards the shortcomings shown in the activities of certain members of the collective. But, he did not demonstrate the indispensable qualities of a leader and the communists severely criticized him, sanctioning him with a "vote of censure". At the same time, the Mures County Party Committee secretariat recommended that he be removed from his job, a measure that was carried out.

Naturally, the measures taken are equal to the deeds. The question that arises is: How was it that such a favorable climate for the activities of certain people seeking fortunes was created and maintained? Perhaps activists from the county party committee and the municipal committee did not come to this unit? If they did come, how did they express their presence in the party organization and the collective? Similarly, were reviews organized there by state organs? What type of activities were they if such violations occurred in this unit? These are questions that must be promptly, effectively answered on the basis of broadening analysis of all those who have tasks to guide and review the activities of this unit. And, the conclusions on this analysis must be worked with the entire party aktiv of the county party committee, in all localities and in all economic-social units in Mures.

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ROLE OF PARTY ORGANIZER IN AGROINDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Apr 82 pp 13-19

[Unsigned article: "The Organizer for the Unified Agroindustrial Council - A Party and State Activist"]

[Text] By establishing unified councils, instituting the position of organizer of the county party committee and setting up the coordinating bureaus for party political-organizational activities an organizational framework was created appropriate for the closer unification of the efforts of the party organizations, communists and all workers in the fulfillment of the objectives given to agriculture by the party, as well as for the more judicious use of the land and the entire technical potential. It is an incontestable reality that, due to this original organizational formula, management, guidance and review have been brought much closer to the basic units, they have taken on a much more specific nature and, implicitly, they have increased their political and social efficiency.

According to the concept of the party leadership and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party organizer-president of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial council is a party and state activist having the task of coordinating all party work in agricultural and industrial units and educational, cultural and health units and so forth, and activities of mass and public organizations. It is also understood that the party organizer is directly concerned for the fulfillment of economic and social-public tasks in the towns, villages and production units within the jurisdiction of the council. He has responsibilities both along political and party lines and along economic lines, especially in the management of agriculture.

An Individual Style of Work

Keeping in mind the fact that he is carrying out his activities within a new framework, the essential problem is for him to create his own individual style of work that corresponds to the specific situations in which he is working, as well as to the large and complex attributes with which he is invested.

In most places, the party organizers draw up their weekly work plans. Certainly, it is a positive fact that the organizers take care to carry out an orderly activity. For a party organizer, whose sphere of attributes contains especially important attributes, a very large circle of concerns and a relatively wide-

spread jurisdiction, planning his work for only a week is absolutely insufficient. This means practically working without any perspective. The weekly work plan must be understood, however, as a page, we could say as a component, of a work plan for a much longer period of time, for a month or even a quarter. The weekly plan represents the specifics, a detail of this plan. Otherwise, there is a risk that the party organizers will be purely and simply overwhelmed by the flow of current activities and daily tasks, which - it is true - are many in number and not at all easy.

For example, now, each party organizer must have clearly defined, through his work program, what specific actions will be undertaken along party lines and administrative-economic lines, not just to ensure the carrying out of the spring agricultural campaign under good conditions, but also so that all later work will be carried out within the established timeframes and at the highest qualitative parameters in order to create a certain base for a rich harvest this year.

This means that the plan will contain specific measures referring to the organization of seeding work and, then, the maintenance of the crops, and to the precise responsibilities for the members of the executive bureau of the council and the coordinating bureau and for the other comrades in the party aktiv and the specialists in such a manner that not only will all the agricultural units in the council be covered, but also all the farms and brigades.

For the zootechnical sectors, special measures must be outlined in light of the tasks set forth by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the conference with the zootechnical personnel and at the 31 March 1982 plenary session of the RCP Central Committee, and we especially have in mind the introduction of a new and more economical concept in the feeding of livestock, the provision of competent cadres who are moved by the spirit of responsibility in this sector, the correct application of the new regulations regarding material incentives for those persons who care for livestock and the modernization of livestock housing in order to achieve a zootechny of high productivity.

Then, since we are talking about the party organizer's work plan, certainly the plan must have measures of an organizational nature that will refer to the training of the aktiv, the bureaus of the town committees, the secretaries and deputy secretaries of the party committees in the agricultural production cooperatives and the state agricultural enterprises, and all the secretaries of the base organizations.

All the problems related to the proper flow of agricultural work must be discussed with the greatest responsibility in the plenary sessions of the party committees and in the assemblies of the base organizations, which are called to give precise tasks to each communist.

Finally, this plan must also absolutely include measures that involve the contribution of mass propaganda and cultural-educational work and the precise

objectives of the cultural centers, the village libraries, the radio stations and the wall and street bulletins. In the plan it is necessary it note when training will take place for agitators, propagandists, teaching faculties and all intellectuals in the villages because, as is known, during the rush periods no citizen from the town can remain outside of the agricultural campaign.

What is essential is to ensure such a planning of activities that all crops, certainly in the order of priorities, will be seeded, as was directed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the 31 March plenary session of the RCP Central Committee, by 15-20 April. "Everyone must be taken out of the offices, all offices closed, meetings eliminated and personnel moved out to practical activities!", stressed the secretary general of the party. And, the party organizer must ensure taking all the measures to this end.

Such a manner of work is important for at least two considerations: first, because the party organizer clearly determines the actions that will be undertaken by him and the unified council; second, the town party committees, the people's councils, the party committees in the agricultural units and all the propaganda resources also receive guidance, which ensures that all activities within the council will be based on much more rigorous bases.

The party organizer, in his position as president of the unified agroindustrial council, must meet at least once each week with the permanent staff of the council and with other technical cadres in order to understand in detail what problems have come up in the process of fulfilling the plan and, depending upon these problems, he can decide upon the measures that are required in order to ensure the normal carrying out of economic activities. Similarly, he must establish such a system of links so that at least once each week he will meet with the secretaries of the town committees and the party committees in the state agricultural enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives, with these people actually representing his basic help in guiding the party work in the council.

A party organizer who has understood well his job has meetings at least once each month with all the secretaries of the base organizations in order to understand not only the specific problems that crop up in their activities, but also how the secretaries go about in resolving them, their ability to judge and evaluate things and the initiative that they show or do not show.

Finally, it is necessary for the party organizer to maintain a close tie with the leadership cadres in the mass and public organizations, with the presidents of the trade union councils, the secretaries of the committees of the Union of Communist Youth organizations, the presidents of the women's committees and commissions and the presidents of the committees of the socialist unit and democracy organizations, with whom he must meet at least once each month in order to give them the necessary guidance and review their activities. Certainly, all these meetings will be efficient if they are organized on the basis of judicious scheduling, each time setting the purpose and subject of the discussions so as to avoid any improvization.

Organically Integrated In The Fundamental Economic Problems

The position of president of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial council requires the party organizer to intimately understand the major problems that crop up today in the state agricultural enterprises, the agricultural mechanization stations and the agricultural production cooperatives in general in the development of agriculture. In connection with this, the following aspect is graphic. In some unified agroindustrial councils, the component units record great differences in the level of production, and the party organizers-presidents of the unified councils do not firmly and consistently intervene and do not ensure the mobilization of human and material forces in order to put to use all internal resources. For example, in the Vladila Unified Agroindustrial Council in Olt County, although the conditions are the same, the Studina Agricultural Cooperative last year obtained 5,302 kg of corn per hectare while the Redea Agricultural Production Cooperative obtained only 2,442 kg. And this while using irrigation! But, the party organizer, as evaluated by the secretariat of the county party committee, carried out a disorganized activity, with low results and efficiency. Right in the middle of the agricultural campaign, the party organizer was consuming a large portion of his time holding all types of report sessions at the unified council's headquarters.

The party organizer is called upon to place himself in the front ranks of the struggle to develop the revolutionary spirit in all areas and to promote a powerful mass opinion against self-satisfaction and the tendency to lead a calm, easy life and against those who say they are satisfied with minimum results. The party organizer must be the nucleus of all actions, the one who is first involved, proving himself to be tireless in the struggle to fulfill economic objectives. Working with tenacity, the party organizers have the duty to do everything so that, by uniting the forces in the unified council as much as possible, any difficulty can be overcome, declaring open war against shortcomings, shortfalls and the tendency to find all kinds of explanations and justifications for them.

Unfortunately, in some unified councils in Calarasi, Ialomita, Timis and Arges counties, the party organizers tried to discover all kinds of justifications and "objective" reasons for the poor harvests that were obtained instead of looking at their own shortcomings, serious violations of discipline and violations of regulations regarding optimum crop densities, carrying out work on-time, applying organic fertilizers and so forth.

One of the fundamental attributes of the party organizer is to carry out a permanent review each day of the fulfillment of party and state decisions. The reason itself for creating this position was to provide a powerful instrument that could help to better organize forces for the purpose of getting results out of party and state decisions. And, in those places where the party and state decisions are left behind in desk draws or are applied in a distorted manner, we can rightly ask whether the party organizer did or did not carry out one of his essential duties.

For example, at the Mihaïl Kogălniceanu Unified Agroindustrial Council in Tulcea County, the party organizer had created a work system of carrying out a review especially by using the intermediary of the permanent staff of the council and the presidents and chief engineers in the agricultural units. Rarely did he go out into the fields, into the cooperatives, to the farms and brigades to see for himself how work was progressing and how the people were working to implement party decisions. For that reason, not by chance, the data and reports that he had were almost always in flagrant contradiction to the reality in the units. It is easy to understand the number of inconsistencies in his directives, the discrepancies that existed between the established measures and the extremely pressing requirements of life. For that reason, the measure taken by the bureau of the Tulcea County Party Committee was a natural one for removing the party organizer from his office, an organizer who had made a habit of living more and more on the information furnished by others.

The role of the party organizer is not to make certain lightning inspections in the party organizations and agricultural units, but to exercise a thorough, methodical review of their activities, systematically helping the party aktiv and the best cadres in the unified councils. And, when it is found that some units are encountering difficulties, that there are leaderships in the agricultural production cooperatives that are moving more slowly in carrying out their attributes and that some cadres are tempted to move along paths that countervene legal norms, then he must spend more time, to review and to help, in other words, to use all his skill and experience.

There are, however, party organizers who run from here to there all day long without having a precise concept, a clear perspective and well-defined goals. It is normal, then, that at the end of a workday or a week or a period of work this type of party organizer will not be in a position to report that he carried out a unified activity, that he pursued something specific and that he managed to obtain certain specific results.

Along this line of thinking of the judicious organization of reviews, it must be said, however, that in some places there is still much to be desired in the manner in which the understanding and application of decisions and laws are organized. There is also the totally unjustified neglect of the good system where, immediately after the appearance of a law or the adoption of a decision, there will be a discussion, processing and mastery of these laws and decisions and, later, a follow-up on their implementation, systematically listening to reports in connection with the status of carrying out a decision or measure. The party organizer does not have to wait for special directives in order to ensure the study and application of a party or state decision within the council. He not only has the right, but also the obligation, by the nature of his position as an organizer, to initiate such measures so that immediately after a decision or law has been adopted every single citizen will be helped to understand its actual meaning and significance. And more than that, the organizer will design such political and organizational measures, naturally, together with the town committees and those in the agricultural enterprises and production cooperatives, so as to immediately implement the law or decision.

The party organizer must be the finest defender of the law and be inflexible regarding deviations from party and state deviations. Only when a violation is given an energetic rebuff right from its incipient stages do shortcomings not grow in size and get nipped in the bud. Last fall, at Insula Mare a Brailei, under the eyes of the party organizer, the leadership cadres of the state agricultural enterprise worked outside the framework of the law, being allowed to adopt all kinds of organizational measures that removed them from their direct, specific responsibilities for production. Nor did the party organizer intervene when the chiefs of certain production units in the enterprise decided to set fire to the cornstalk stubble that had not yet been collected after the combines had harvested the corn.

At the Odoreu and Valea Vinului unified agroindustrial councils in Satu Mare County, the party organizers-presidents of these councils did not report the erroneous manner, one outside the framework of the law, in which salary payments were made in the agricultural cooperatives last fall. There, the principle used for standardizing and paying wages was haggling and narrow, local interests and not the amount of production that had been obtained, as is stipulated in the Agricultural Production Cooperative Statute, in the salary law and in the party leadership's directives.

The facts point out that among the ranks of certain party organizers there has been evidence of an atmosphere of self-satisfaction and tolerance towards shortcomings, with some of them becoming accustomed to this some much that they can no longer conceive that there is room for improvement in their activities. A party organizer who overlooks serious shortcomings means he is one who does not possess the ability to discover them in time and that he is not capable of contributing to their elimination. Such a person does not have the qualities necessary to be a party activist, in other words, he is not appropriate for the job of party organizer.

The party organizer is, in fact, the representative of the county party committee in the unified agroindustrial council. Through him, the county committee must have the possibility of daily being able to get an exact picture of the flow of all activities in the council. Clearly, the county committee also has other opportunities to get information, but the organizer represents one of the main channels through which information permanently flows into the county committee. For that reason, there is great significance in this information being true and expressing correctly the realities, and never in hiding shortcomings, errors and failures.

It is incomprehensible why some party organizers prefer to forward to the county committees certain reports, data and figures that embellish the situation in the field, and, sometimes, flagrant shortfalls are purely and simply transformed into successes and plan overfulfillments. At the Zaval Agricultural Production Cooperative in the Macesu Unified Agroindustrial Council in Dolj County, for example, approximately one month after it was reported that the corn harvest had been completed and the tabulations had been concluded, nearly 100 hectares were still being harvested out in the fields. The management of the land improvement worksite in Alead, in Bihor

County, last year falsely reported that it had cleared more than 200 additional hectares in the fields, undeservingly receiving over one million lei. An end must be put to such phenomena because they purely and simply cultivate dishonesty and insincerity. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, such attitudes are incompatible not only with the qualities of a party activist, but also with those of a party member and, for that reason, everywhere such cases have existed they must be discussed very seriously, learning the maximum number of lessons and taking the most drastic measures against the guilty parties.

Ensuring Intense Internal Party Affairs

The job of party organizer and instructor of the county committee requires the person charged with these responsibilities to be closely concerned with the normal carrying out of party affairs in all party organs and organizations within the jurisdiction of the unified agroindustrial council.

The strengthening of discipline, the adherence to democratic norms and collective leadership, the good planning of work, the powerful use of communists by assigning specific tasks to all of them, their party education and, especially, the growth of the ability of the base organizations to mobilize the workers to fulfill economic and social objectives are problems that have priority in the permanent circle of concerns of each party organizer.

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed numerous times, this dual role produces two groups of concerns that are harmoniously combined: the president of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial council and the organizer of the county party committee. We are not talking about carrying out one job to the detriment of the other, nor neglecting the first in favor of the second. When out in the field, either in agricultural units or in party organizations, the organizer must not forget that at all times he has the responsibility for the proper flow of agricultural production and party work.

Furthermore, the organizer, as an instructor of the county party committee, must ensure the review and guidance of all party organizations within the jurisdiction of the council, including those organizations in schools, dispensaries, hospitals and other economic-social units, being concerned with all facets of party work, including organizational work and propaganda and mass cultural-educational work.

The reality is that some party organizers give second priority to the problems of political and party organizational work and to the guidance and review of party organizations. Naturally, no one will contest the top priority of economic tasks and those in agriculture. There can be no discussion that these tasks should not always be top priority. But, this does not at all mean neglecting party work, not being concerned about the work style of the party committees and bureaus and not following-up on how organizational activities and internal party affairs are being carried out.

For example, in Mures County, last year 15,000 cattle and 30,000 pigs were taken out of the livestock herds because of deaths and necessary slaughtering, with the average milk production being more than 500 liters below the planned level at the agricultural production cooperative and more than 1,100 liters below at the state agricultural enterprise. Normally the organizers should have brought about analyses in the assemblies of the base organizations in order to discuss the existing situation in a critical and self-critical spirit and to adopt the necessary measures. Despite all this, the base organizations in the Iernut, Singeorgiu de Padure, Ungheni and Zau de Cimpie councils put minor, insignificant subjects on the agendas of their assemblies last year and when, in the end, subjects of a broader interest were scheduled the reports and discussions were filled with generalities, data and figures. Many times, party organizers participated in these types of analyses, but either they did not go to them early enough to help prepare the analyses or they did not succeed in contributing to correcting the existing situation through their presence. In other words, they were there, they listened and they left.

As is known, last year the party leadership decided to create the coordinating bureaus of political-party organizational activities within the unified councils (with the party organizer holding the position of secretary of this bureau). These are organisms that will permanently be concerned about uniting the efforts of the communists and guiding them in a single direction: the accentuated increase of crop and animal production, the complete fulfillment of the production plan and the organization and achievement of the agricultural campaigns under good conditions.

And, precisely in these areas a series of coordinating bureaus made a sufficiently poor showing. One shortcoming of many of the coordinating bureaus lies in the fact that they neglected the problems of party organizational work, the work style of the party committees and bureaus of base organizations and the manner in which internal party affairs were carried out. Last year, for example, the coordinating bureau in the Vinga Unified Agroindustrial Council in Arad County did not examine a single problem related to internal party affairs. In the tasks established by the party leadership, it is true that the acceptance of people into the party, the maintenance of records on party members, the payment and depositing of dues, the election of leadership organs and the application of disciplinary measures will continue to remain attributes of the county, municipal, city and town party committees. But, this does not mean that the coordinating bureaus will not be concerned for the strengthening of the ranks of the base organizations, the party education of new party members and all communists, the firming-up of party discipline and the strengthening of the spirit of order and responsibility in all party organizations in the council.

According to the attributes given to them, they do not have statutory rights, in the sense that they cannot confirm or invalidate decisions to accept people into the party or party sanctions, they do not hold records on party members, accept payments of dues and so forth. However, they must be concerned for the flow of activities in these fields because it is inconceivable that they

would pursue the growth of the role of party organizers in the management of economic and social affairs and just neglect such important aspects as the strengthening of discipline and exigency in the carrying out of party decisions or the qualitative improvement of the ranks of the party organizations.

One main task of the party organizers is the permanent follow-up of the manner in which the party organization structures operate within the jurisdiction of the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial councils. Our party's concept is known regarding the fact that the norms of party affairs and the methods and forms of activities are not given out once and for all. Under these conditions, the party organizer is called upon to permanently study the realities in his area of operation, to promptly report irregularities and outdated organizational forms that may appear and to effectively take action within the limits of his attributes in order to ensure that the organizational structures of party and public work are permanently adequate for current needs.

As is known, the Decision of the RCP Central Committee regarding the structure of party organizations in enterprises, institutes, housing developments and villages states that in party organizations that have under 100 members just one base organization per agricultural production cooperative is created, and within it, depending upon the needs, the members can create party groups in the villages, farms, brigades, schools and so forth. The meaning of these provisions is precisely that of providing an organizational framework in those base organizations with a larger number of members that will permit the carrying out of permanent party affairs in the production subunits as well - brigades, farms, different sectors - or in other units, such as: schools, production cooperatives, sectors for the acquisition and sale of goods, dispensaries and so forth.

The right to create party groups in villages belongs to the town committees and the party committees in the state agricultural enterprises, the agricultural mechanization stations and the agricultural production cooperative. And, the party organizers have the task of seeing that these groups will be created in accordance with the norms listed in the RCP Central Committee decision and, especially, of giving their full support so that these groups will be viable and permanently operate.

In the 3 years that have passed since the creation of the job of organizer of the county party committee for the unified state and cooperatist agroindustrial council, positive experiences have accumulated whose results are visible everywhere.

Beginning with the priority objectives of carrying out the new agricultural revolution, the growth of combativeness, the consolidation of discipline and firmness and the growth of competency are basic requirements in the work of each organizer, indispensable qualities without which these activists cannot successfully achieve their great tasks during the current period.

That is why it is necessary for all the county committees to conduct a thorough analysis of the manner in which the party organizers have worked to date, to also bring to the surface, certainly, the good experiences that have been shaped and, especially, to pause on the shortcomings and on the gaps in their work style in order to know precisely how to work in the future for the purpose of having a radical improvement in their work methods. With this done, all the party organizers will be able to fully discharge the great responsibilities entrusted to them under the best possible conditions.

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DEFECTS IN MEDICAL EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 5 Feb 82 p 8

[Interview with Dr Simion Purice by Liviu Timbus; date and place not given]

[Text] Prof Dr Simion Purice was born in Piatra Neamt in 1922 and is a licentiate of the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest. He was the pupil and collaborator of Professors Mihai Ciuca, Daniel Danielopolu, Costel Nicolau, Bazil Theodorescu, Ionescu-Mihailesti and Ion Bruckner. He succeeded the last in the post of director of the Institute of Internal Medicine in Bucharest. He had specialized training in Paris, Hamburg, Cologne, Dusseldorf and Berlin (FRG). He is the author of 184 works published here and abroad and the coauthor of 5 treatises on internal medicine. In the capacity of chief editor, he runs the periodical MEDICINE INTERNE, and he is a collaborator of the specialized publications MEDIZINISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT and LEBER UND DARM (FRG). At present, he holds the post of chief of the Colentina Clinic of Internal Medicine.

[Question] You had the privilege, dear Comrade Professor, of being the pupil and collaborator of eminent representatives of the national school of medicine. Is the avowed taste for laboratory research the result of this fruitful postgraduate period?

[Answer] Direct scientific research engrossed me as far back as in the years of college. Later, as you said, I had the chance to collaborate in this fascinating activity with great clinicians. Professors Daniel Danielopolu, Mihai Ciuca, Ion Nasta, Ionescu-Mihailesti and Ion Bruckner were also active researchers, people who enriched significantly, through their own research, the legacy of the medical sciences. As a matter of fact, I have always felt that only scientific research fulfills the medical act. The true man of science must be a creator, not just a mere doer, not just the instrumented beneficiary of the work of others. The great clinicians, almost without exception, augmented the medical legacy through original discoveries and inventions. I too am striving to follow in the footsteps of such illustrious predecessors--as far as possible, of course. Laboratory research requires valuable hours that I now must steal from the hours of class or of medical consultation. When this is not possible, I content myself with encouraging the work of others and especially of the young ones, of the enthusiastic minds. New ideas, even if they are those of very young people without scientific certificates, captivate me immediately.

[Question] In this way, we suspect, was the collaboration with Dr Mihai Leontopol not also established?

[Answer] I first heard about the Leontopol treatment through the periodical FLACARA. The method and the therapeutic concept obviously attracted my attention through their absolute novelty. The opportunity for collaboration arose a year and a half ago when a young engineer with an extremely serious ailment--seminoma (a tumor of the testis) with hepatic and pulmonary metastasis--came to our clinic. We treated him with the well-known standard means, but as the disease advanced, we decided to send him to Paris, to Dr Mathe's clinic. There the patient was subjected to a severe treatment with cytostatics. But as the ailment continued to worsen, Professor Mathe sent him back to the country, but not before telephoning me and advising me to send an ambulance to the airport, because--the colleague in Paris said--the patient had only a very short time to live. Then we decided to apply Leontopol's treatment to the patient. And a miracle occurred! The patient began to recover, the metastasis in the lungs disappeared, the liver became normal, and after a few months the patient became a normal, healthy man again. By chance, I met him at the very top of Ceahlau Mountain and then by the sea. Occasionally, he also visits me here, at the institute.

[Question] Other cases?

[Answer] I also collaborated with Dr Leontopol on the treatment of cases of pulmonary neoplasm, but after a temporary improvement the ailment returned. True, they were extremely serious cases. Some 3 months ago, I sent to him for treatment a patient with an intraoperative neoplasm of the pancreas. Thus far, from a clinical viewpoint, the results are good. The patient has not come back to the clinic, and when the patient no longer needs the doctor, it means that he feels well.

[Question] Is it possible to formulate a conclusion?

[Answer] The cases are much too few--and I am referring just to those that I was able to examine personally--for me to commit myself to a conclusion. I feel that Dr Leontopol's method is a completely new way in cancer therapy, that it deserves the full attention of the specialists and that, in particular, it involves multidisciplinary research--reasons why I feel that Dr Leontopol must benefit from all the conditions for performing further the research needed.

[Question] What is the role of preventive medicine at the present time?

[Answer] Enormous. Enormous, but, unfortunately, very little is being done in this regard. We hope nonetheless that things may change. A clear direction was indicated recently in an article signed by Comrade Minister Eugen Proca. It is thus pointed out that, in the future, within the medical assistance for the population, preventive medical activity will have a place as a concern of major importance. It is very good if things will go that way, because now, and especially in the case of serious illnesses, the patient turns to the doctor much too late most of the time. This is the time when we doctors circle around the bed without being able to intervene any longer to entirely eliminate the illness. At such times, the incurable patient constitutes a bitter reproach addressed to the doctors and to modern medical science. In this situation, in fact, we are practicing internal medicine on lost cases. At the same time, I should also remark that in medical education itself the study of preventive medicine is split up artificially between the departments of hygiene and of internal medicine. I then mention that there are countries where inoscopy has become a routine test, which means infinitely more chances of early detection of a neoplasm of the rectum, intestines, esophagus, stomach and lungs. We are currently doing endoscopies here at the institute, they are also being done at the Pandeni Hospital and

the Vitan Polyclinic, they are also being done in a few places in the country, but this is extremely little. We should have apparatus and specialists in this field in each county hospital. I would even propose the founding of a methodological center that would deal particularly with the methods of medical prophylaxis.

[Question] What diseases do you have in mind?

[Answer] Along with cancer, that terrible curse of our century, it is possible to note an alarming proliferation of hepatitis and hepatic cirrhosis. They are the consequences of the wave of epidemic viral hepatitis that also raged in our country immediately after the war. In the case of chronic hepatitis, with a certain degree of reversibility, the patient can benefit from a combined treatment and if the ailment is "caught" in time, it is cured or, at any rate, the patient can lead a relatively normal life. Unfortunately, the patient usually shows up much too late and then the ailment evolves inexorably toward cirrhosis. I propose that in the case of the routine tests there also be the hepatic biopsy, which can be achieved either through a blind puncture or through endoscopy.

[Question] Is the epidemic of epidemic hepatitis the only cause that explains the spread of the two illnesses?

[Answer] The liver ailment has a diverse and complicated etiology. Stress, excessive food and drink, and fatigue are just a few of the factors that cause its onset. However, I would like to mention to the general public the danger that, especially now, there is in aggressive medical investigations and in pollution with drugs.

[Question] What is meant by aggressive investigations?

[Answer] A collagen ailment, for instance, which is in fact an autoimmune illness, can be detected very simply by means of serodiagnosis. But no, the patients are advised to have pulmonary and renal x-rays, biopsies are requested from them--that is, severe investigations that can upset the immunoinformative system of the organism. Scintigrams and, again, x-rays and fluoroscopies are requested for the detection of rheumatism. I have encountered patients who came to a consultation with 50-100 x-rays. Or take the case of hepatitis. Chronic hepatitis is a stabilized illness--that is, a relatively slight ailment. Well, nevertheless, countless colleagues prescribe complicated, sophisticated treatments, bombard the patient with cytostatics, with anti-inflammatories and corticoids. There is used for the same purpose plasmaphoresis, a costly method, one that was introduced very recently into the clinics because it also requires specialized training. The drawing of blood cannot always have favorable consequences. Then, too many tranquilizers, too many anesthetics and drugs that hinder the work of the liver and thus create a setting favorable to the appearance of hepatitis and cirrhosis, are used. I would not want it understood by this that I am an opponent of the modern methods of investigation and treatment. They represent a great achievement of the human mind, but when they tend to dominate the toil of the doctor, they can become a two-edged sword.

[Question] Along this line of thinking, do you perhaps also have in mind the current specialization and subspecialization of internal medicine?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, a stricter compartmentation of the knowledge of internal medicine has yielded many advantages. But, at the same time, in its turn, excessive specialization can be detrimental to the medical act. An ailing organ must be judged in

the general context of the organism. This is precisely why, at a given time, the breakup of internal medicine into specialties and subspecialties can narrow the horizon of the diagnostician. The cardiologist, the hepatologist, the nephrologist, the gastroenterologist, the lung specialist thus become narrow, limited craftsmen, like the worker who has learned to make a single part and has no idea of the whole assembly being manufactured. The chase after specialization is, I believe, also a consequence of the way in which the internal-medicine course is now taught in college. I feel that it is a very bad sign that, starting with the 4th year, the internal-medicine course is taught by a different professor every year. In the past, one and the same teacher taught the students in all 3 years. Only on this basis was it possible to found the brilliant schools of internal medicine whose disappearance represents a serious loss for the health assistance in Romania. Until not long ago, in Bucharest there were the school of internal medicine headed by Dr Nicolae Lupu and that of Bazil Theodorescu and Daniel Danielopolu. In Cluj, the school of Iuliu Hatieganu and Ion Goia had distinguished itself, followed by that of Prof Octavian Fodor. In Iasi, Professor Enescu succeeded Professor Badaru in the department of internal medicine.

[Question] Are these the only gaps in the current university and postgraduate medical education?

[Answer] I read the broad group discussion organized on this subject by your periodical and I endorse in many respects the ideas and suggestions expressed on that occasion. I will remark first that the 3-year period of probation has proved to be an incorrect method. The graduate is obliged to stroll through various departments and to be specialized in county hospitals, where he does not always have to learn new things. I was able to note personally that after only 6 months the students in the period of probation know less medicine than they knew in college. The isolation of the graduate from the big university medical centers can only have bad consequences. It may be necessary to return to the competitive examination for internship--and this even in the 5th year of college. The young graduates and even the older doctors should maintain constant contact with the university centers. Even our institute of internal medicine should have a role in this regard. It should become a true methodological center for the medical personnel throughout the country. It would also have, among other things, the mission of holding advanced training courses, of establishing schemes of investigation and treatment, and of tackling research subjects with various hospital units in the country. Finally, I will venture to observe that the young doctors participate to a very slight degree in the international scientific discussions. Few are sent to study abroad and also few participate in the summer colloquiums and seminars that are organized in various European countries.

These are thus a few observations and a few proposals and suggestions for a better organization of medical education and of health care in general. I dwelled more on shortcomings and I believe that it is good that I did so. It is an easy, fine and useful thing to speak about successes, about victories, but it is more important--as the secretary general of our party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has recommended to us countless times--for us to openly admit our shortcomings, subject them to public discussion, deal frankly with the mistakes, do everything to correct them, to improve our work. An acknowledged mistake also has every likelihood of being corrected.

12105
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WRITER ATTACKED FOR CRITICIZING BARBU, PREDA

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 5 Feb 82 pp 16-17

[Article by Ilie Purcaru in the column "Lucid Mind"; "Necessary Clarifications"]

[Text] The attempt to accredit at any cost the theory of "camps" in literature, visible in several passages appearing recently in some periodicals, has a lack of spontaneity that makes it suspect. The solution used--with a curious simultaneity under different signatures--is the dissemination, contrary to all evidence, of the idea of the existence of an Eugen Barbu group, which would monopolize all the channels of information and, evidently, all the material and nonmaterial benefits of Romanian literature. The most prudent formula does not exhibit ostentatious lists but only suggests them. The least prudent places the Manichean division into the Barbu group and the rest of the world under the guise of opposite literary positions. This is so in the interview given by Norman Manea to FAMILIA, an interview with which we dealt in a past issue of our periodical. This is also so in an article by Alex. Stefanescu in CONVORBIRI LITERARE, with which, again, our periodical dealt, and which even gives a list of names that begins, naturally, with Eugen Barbu. Although we are reviving the discussion about these passages, we are doing it in order to try to clear things up even better for their presumptive readers. Because the reader without access to the more intimate aspects of literary life--and without the time needed to verify some assertions--runs bang into this slogan--the Barbu group--offered insistently by the above-mentioned signers, for purposes that remain foreign to him. The signer in CONVORBIRI, for instance, ignores any literary and structural differences of those recruited involuntarily into the respective group, only to offer a list of writers at whose top there is E. Barbu. Reconstructed by us (because it does not also give the names of those charged but suggests them by means of transparent allusions), N. M.'s list, in FAMILIA, also begins with Barbu. The new element that this latter list brings is that it insists on putting the respective writers in opposition to Marin Preda--posthumously. If we add that the antinomic list in CONVORBIRI LITERARE begins with the name of the author of "Morometilor," we discover that, after the death of the great writer, the revival of a Marin Preda-Eugen Barbu conflict, more precisely the nostalgia of it, is attempted. Otherwise, what purpose would there have been in attacking the page of homage devoted by LUCEAFARUL to the memory of M. Preda--a page, N. M. says, full of invective against the deceased--when one of those who eulogized Marin Preda on that page was, in the first place, Eugen Barbu! But such passages--I already said--do not fit the evidence, are not considered obliged to it. With the goal being to divide the overall image of Romanian literature, even the dead are called from the grave in order to attain it.

In actual fact, what do the respective passages intend? It is hard for us to imagine that they would tend to solve problems of literary history and criticism, as the passage in CONVORBIRI tries to give the illusion, because elementary criteria of literary history and criticism are dismissed offhandedly. The slighting of great works and important writers, of a major idea for Romanian literature like "traditionalism," like the confusion sowed around "modernism," shows us that the signer of that article is far from the problems that, innocently or not, he discusses. Consequently, what do such remarks intend? More visibly in N. M., these archangelic descents intend to paint the picture of acquirers of material values and literary glory, of monopolizers of the mass-media channels. Here is N. M.'s beautiful contribution in FAMILIA: "For several years, some (what else can we call them?) 'colleagues'—namely, precisely those most pampered by means of all the loudspeakers and press columns with a wide audience, authors who are not doing too badly either in terms of the share of the benefits and honorariums" and so on and so on. For the moment, we are overlooking the fact that the public knows, euphemistically speaking, next to nothing about Norman Manea's work, but it reads the prose of Eugen Barbu and Ion Lancranjan in printings on the order of hundreds of thousands of copies, that it bought out in record time a book like "Elegii Politice" [Political Elegies] by Ion Gheorghe, a great event of the '81 poetic year. But let us see what "monopoly" and what "honors" are in question. Ion Lancranjan, for example, has not appeared on television for about 10 years. His name does not blanket either the radio broadcasts or the pages of the periodicals, where, as in the case of FAMILIA, he is rather ill-treated. I. Lancranjan is not even a pensioner of the Union of Writers, as is his younger and indignant colleague from FAMILIA. Regarding the fact that I. Lancranjan occasionally publishes articles, we believe that N. M. should be, at this point, somewhat more lenient. We believe that Ion Lancranjan still has the right to publish, from time to time, in a press whose language he knows. Should we also add that Ion Gheorghe, another "pampered" one in N. M.'s view, does not have any honorary position, which, as a matter of fact, he has never requested? That he does not jostle his way into the television lights or onto the radio waves or into the uproar of the press ballyhoo? That he has not even gotten the literary prizes that are his due, considering the dimensions of his work? That his only passion is writing and that the second pursuit of his life is editorial talk with young poets and the launching of them? What remains of the idea of a "monopoly" that N. M. attributes to these writers and others?

Beyond the general confusion (of notions, of ideas, of aspects of literary history, of esthetics) in the article in CONVORBIRI LITERARE, there too the goal is to establish the same stifling image: that of writers because of whom others cannot succeed. To allay any doubt, we quote: they (the writers charged by Al. St.) "dominate the period, in the sense that /their human presence/ [printed in boldface] (our emphasis) causes the literary presence of the others and even their own literary presence to be overshadowed." The nonsense is total! If he wanted somehow to make literary history, the signer should have concerned himself with authorial appearances, with works, the only things that make literature. But even going into a territory that is not one of the written work, Al. St. should have been honest and referred to the facts. He did not do so. Why? Is silence not really an act of eloquence, as critic Prof N. Manolescu said? Because one who denounces a list and then is silent is hiding something: another list. Perhaps those who have the monopoly over the mass-media presence, the committees and assemblies, the juries, the literary prizes, the pensions and so on, are elsewhere—regarding which the previous speaker is silent.

When will we cease--as Adrian Paunescu also said in the last issue of our periodical--with these extraliterary and, we may add, even extraterritorial habits and conduct, concerning ourselves with authors and with books?

PS: In CONVORBIRI LITERARE, No 1 (145), January of this year, Corneliu Sturzu, the chief editor of the periodical, offered us a "few clarifications" regarding the literary investigation about the eighth decade, initiated by the Iasi publication. A timely initiative, under the condition in which, through the confusion advanced, the opinions put in the pages of the periodical (belonging to Al. St. and others) provoked the justified responses in SCINTEIA, SAPTAMINA, PLACARA and LUCEAFARUL. And yet, in fact, the "clarifications" increase the confusion of the criteria, of the esthetic and political choices. What is the chief editor of CONVORBIRI affirming and what is he denying? What is the literary choice of the periodical that he runs? In the absence of such delimitations, a periodical, any periodical, becomes a drawer collecting papers carried by all the winds. But perhaps the "few clarifications" do not belong to Chief Editor Corneliu Sturzu but to writer Corneliu Sturzu. In this case, the writer, for the confusion that he sowed, should have been corrected amicably by Chief Editor Corneliu Sturzu.

12105

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DISPUTE OVER WORDING OF SERBIA'S LC STATUTE AIRED

Review of Controversy

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82
pp 20-21

[Article by Stevan Niksic]

[Text] Why do representatives of the League of Communists of Vojvodina dispute a formulation in the draft statute of the Serbian LC that states that the League of Communists of Serbia is a unified organization of the working class and the working people in the Socialist Republic of Serbia?

"The League of Communists of Serbia is the leading revolutionary ideological and political, and unified organization of the working class and the working people in Serbia." That is the first sentence of the general principles contained in the draft statute of the Serbia LC. At first glance, judging from the elements from which it is composed, which are typical for this type of LC statutory document, it could be said that this is a completely commonplace sentence, particularly since identical introductory sentences, or ones containing the same elements, are found in some other LC republic organization draft statutes, which have been approved recently (such as in the statutes of the Slovenian and Macedonian LC organizations). It has turned out, however, that this sentence, or more precisely the part that states that the Serbian LC "is a unified organization," has become a point of contention. Judging from the debate so far about statutory changes in the LCY, in which an abundance of proposals and suggestions have been offered, while many polemic sparks have been struck, this newest dispute about the introductory sentence of the basic principles of the Draft Statute of the Serbian LC is in no way exceptional. Yet in recent days it has drawn the attention of political circles, because in it all the things said several months ago in the course of several days of debate at the 18th and 19th Plenums of the Serbian LC Central Committee, relating to the relationship between the republic and its provinces, are brought up again. The debate was completed with conclusions ("On the Tasks of the Serbian LC in Implementing the Constitution and in the Further Building and Strengthening of Unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia"). These conclusions raised hopes that some old quarrels and misunderstandings would be overcome, and that new disputes of the same kind about the debatable points that had been cleared up would no longer be possible.

As Slavko Veselinov brought out at the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee's Statute Commission, "The Serbian LC is not and cannot be indicated in the statute as a unified organization." He defended his viewpoint stubbornly and stuck with it to the end, despite the fact that many participants in the session by their arguments showed that his viewpoint was devoid of foundation or sense. In the end, he was the only one who voted for his proposal, that is, he was the only one who voted against the proposed draft statute and the formulation of the Serbian LC as a unified organization.

Slavko Veselinov is, incidently, the president of the Vojvodina LC Statute Commission. In a discussion we held with him last week (see below), he unequivocally confirmed that in opposing the indicated formulation, "he did not express merely his own opinion, but the opinion of the Vojvodina LC's agency."

"There is Nothing Controversial"

It is interesting to note that once Slavko Veselinov, in the Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions for the Preparation of the 12th LCY Congress, offered the proposal that in the provinces, instead of province LC conferences as heretofore, they should hold congresses, just like the republics, as the highest party forums. His proposal provoked many unfavorable reactions, including some at the 18th Plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee mentioned above. At that time Veselinov came out onto the podium and explained that he had offered that proposal "in his own name only" and that agencies of the Vojvodina League of Communists were not behind it.

Since we are talking about positions of forums and agencies of the LCY, it is also worth noting that the Vojvodina LC Province Committee, at its September session, 3 days before the Serbian LC Central Committee session, did indeed dispute whether the Serbian LC was a unified organization. Then, after the debate at the Serbian LC Central Committee session, they unanimously approved conclusions that very precisely and clearly stated something different. Among other things, those conclusions state that the Vojvodina and Kosovo LC organizations are "component parts of the Serbian LC," and they stress the "unity of the Serbian LC as a whole, and the independence and responsibility of the Kosovo and Vojvodina LC organizations," and call for the strengthening of "unity and community in Serbia and in the country as a whole."

Pavle Brankovic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee's Statutory Commission, was asked to document the "misunderstanding" about the formulation of a "unified organization." He responded: "I would assert that after the 18th and 19th Plenums of the Serbian LC Central Committee, there are no disputable questions regarding the relationship between the republic and the provinces. Through democratic dialogue, based on the facts, that has been absolutely cleared up, at a session of the authorized forum. Honestly, as a man and a communist, I do not know what further problems could be discussed. Incidently, for me the independence of the provinces was not in dispute even before that, and I have always striven to promote that in my position."

Brankovic continued, "I do not think that everyone has to think the same way as I do, but if someone still regards something that we have cleared up jointly to be an open question, then that person either does not know, is poorly informed, or is suffering a delusion about that question. I do not know what else I could say about that, and therefore I do not want to talk about it any more."

"I will maintain my position and assert, as I repeated at the commission session several times, that the Serbian LC Statute as a whole, including all the changes made in it and the additions to it, is in harmony with the LCY Statute, and that it does not contain a single decision that in principle or in its details runs contrary to the standards of the LCY Statute."

Why a Longer Term in Office?

The Serbian LC draft statute prepared by the Statutory Commission and to be presented for public discussion, probably at the coming Serbian LC Central Committee Plenum, contains many other decisions along with this disputed formulation on the "unified Serbian LC," which doubtless will attract attention, since they differ from the decisions found in the statutes of the other republic and province organizations. It is primarily a matter of the term in office for positions in the League of Communists, which according to the LCY Statute, every republic and province LC organization can determine independently. The Serbian LC Statutory Commission has offered alternative proposals on the length of service. According to the new proposal, based on the possibility foreseen in the LCY Statute, the length of service in agencies of the Serbian LC would be determined by a decision of the Serbian LC Central Committee. According to another proposal, the term in office of the Central Committee president would in principle be set at 1 year, and that of the secretary, at 2 years. The terms in office of opstina committee presidents, presidents of interopstina committees and city committees of the LCY, and of the secretaries of these agencies, would be set at 2 years, with the possibility, as an exception, of a repeated term in some cases.

"The length of term is truly significant, but it is still only one of the numerous questions included in Comrade Tito's initiative for strengthening collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility. By this type of proposal, we are not retreating from the truly significant and essential elements of Comrade Tito's initiative. We only consider that his idea must be adapted to fit current conditions and experiences of the Serbian LC. We will see whether things will continue to be the same, for practice will show us what is the best in that regard. If it turns out that we were not right, but those of a different opinion were right, then we will make our corrections. If that were the key question, and the implementing of the principles of collective labor depended on it, then it would be the simplest thing. But as you see, our commission proposed many possibilities because we believe it is best to have a democratic debate after which, at a congress, the best decision can be adopted."

Thus the Statutory Commission supported alternatives for various proposals about which differing opinions have been heard, because it considered that the membership had to express itself about them. In so doing the commission did not, however, foresee an alternative to the formulation that the Serbian LC is "a unified organization," and the democratic debate on that has been conducted... and completed.

Interview With Veselinov

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82
pp 20-21

[Interview with Slavko Veselinov conducted by Stevan Niksic; date and place not given]

[Veselinov] ...The topic here is concretely the position that states that the League of Communists of Serbia is "a unified political organization." My comment is that that type of formulation is not based on the LCY Statute and the conclusions of the Serbian LC Central Committee that were adopted at the 19th Plenum. Thirdly, it does not correspond to the constitutional position of the League of Communists. I insisted that that which comes from the LCY Statute, and that is the basis of the statutes of the Serbian and Vojvodina LC organizations, must be applied throughout the text of the Serbian LC Statute, conscientiously applying the provisions about relationships within the Serbian LC.

We are talking about differences in interpreting provisions of the LCY Statute concerning relationships between the republic LC and the LC organizations of the provinces, and their application in the life of the Serbian LC. To be specific, it is one thing to speak of the unity and uniformity of the Serbian LC as a whole, but it is another question as to whether the Serbian LC is a unified political organization. We must assure the unity of the LC in every basic and opstina organization in the Province LC, in the Serbian LC, and in the LCY, but it is another question as to whether the LC of the republic or a province, as a part of the total LCY, can be called "A unified political organization."

[Question] How do you interpret the fact that the same formulation (that the LC is "a unified political organization") was put into draft statutes of several other republic organizations of the LCY?

[Veselinov] That cannot be of any significance for regulating relationships in the Serbian LC. The point of departure must be the Statute of the LCY. It says that the LCY is a unified political organization, and it regulates the nature of the republic and province LC organizations. It is stated that the republic and province LC organizations are independent, equal and equally responsible organizations. They are independent when we are talking about implementing mutually determined policies in agencies and forums of the LCY. Thus they can function independently only on the basis of mutually established LCY policy. The statute also stipulates that all republic and province LC organizations are equal in implementing policies, and they are equally responsible for such implementation.

From this follow relationships that are to be applied in a suitable manner in the Serbian LC.

[Question] Is what you are presenting here and which you advocated at the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Statutory Commission your own perception, or is it the position of Vojvodina LC agencies?

[Veselinov] These are the positions of the agencies of the Vojvodina LC. The province committee did not express itself about these concrete formulations, but from what was said at the 25th Plenum of the Vojvodina LC Province Committee, these clearly follow. In the Vojvodina LC Commission for Statutory Questions, we were not able to take concrete positions so far, because the public discussion of the Vojvodina LC Draft Statute is only about to begin.

[Question] Does that mean that between the statutes of the Serbian and the Vojvodina LC there could be differences in fundamental questions that regulate the position and nature of these organizations within the framework of the LCY as a unified organization?

[Veselinov] Yes. For now there are such differences in the drafts of these documents, but they will have to be reconciled with the LCY Statute. Of course, all of our statutes stem from that of the LCY, and after the 12th Congress, when the LCY Statute will be adopted, all statutes of republic and province LC organizations will have to be brought into harmony with the central statute.

As I see the general provisions of the LCY Statute, one of those two statutes certainly is not in accord with it, when we talk of the relationships between the province OC organization and its status in the Serbian LC.

I think, incidentally, that that question was well stated in the conclusions of the 19th Plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee. In the fourth chapter, it tells precisely what the province LC organizations are within the Serbian LC. In those conclusions, it does not say that the Serbian LC is a unified organization. I think that at its Plenums (the 18th and 19th) the Serbian LC Central Committee really did a great deal to overcome that situation. Specifically, before those sessions and in the course of the sessions, a question arose making the point that it was one thing when we talk about the LCY, where the LCs negotiate and coordinate their opinions, building unified positions. Relationships in the Serbian LC are, however, another question, where decisions are approved by a majority of votes. I think that that reflects the different perception of relationships in the Serbian LC as viewed by the province organizations, and that it does not correspond to actual relationships.

Since we are already talking about all these questions, I would like to say that they are important and therefore, they draw great attention. Yet at this moment there are much more serious problems that the League of Communists and our working people are encountering. I am thinking primarily about the implementation of our stabilization policy and the functioning of our system. So I do not support exaggerating and inflating these problems in connection with the statute; rather, I advocate constructive debate and a democratic dialogue.

12131

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'POLITIKA' EDITORIALIST DJUKIC INTERVIEWED

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 82 p 10

[Interview with Slavoljub Djukic, POLITIKA editorialist, by Branko Krilovic; date and place not given]

[Text] "Personally I am hit the hardest by certain dramatic situations, such as are experienced by essentially every collective, which once decided the fates of individuals. I cannot accept verbal violence, immoderation and vengeful attitudes, in which no thought is given to the means used to bring people to their knees, particularly regarding political means." This quote from Slavoljub Djukic, whose commentaries we regard as a model of that journalistic genre, can in our opinion be used to show how this conversation with him in the best way supplements the dossier on journalists and journalism at present.

[Question] Recently the journalist has become a "hot item," he has attained a certain type of popularity. Are we, however, talking about a popularity that is not innocent, which at times presupposes unpleasanties and various types of bravery?

[Answer] Truly, journalism gets a high price, particularly political journalism. It is not at all by chance that precisely the reviews, which have a heightened feel for the reader, are beginning to promote the political text.

I hope that we have destroyed the delusion about "involved journalism." For a long time that meant boring contributions, full of phrases and sermonizing, which left the readers totally indifferent. I always considered that involvement, besides the struggle for truth and fundamental social values, must be communicative and must find its reflection in the public.

I agree that this kind of journalism presupposes unpleasanties, but that is absolutely logical. It is impossible without risk to function effectively in public, to criticize, to have the ambition to change habits and increase the responsibility for social tasks. It is not only a matter of journalism. Essentially every task that is done honestly presupposes certain unpleasanties. Yet often we point only at journalism.

In general, I am not pleased by the journalists' constant bewailing of their fate and creating a safe myth about journalism. How do we perceive our calling? We want freely to express our opinion, to criticize, to name names of everything and everybody, while at the same time we live our journalistic lives. The risk is figured into the journalist's profession.

[Question] Considering the growing concern about the press, can one speak of the growing might of the journalist and journalism?

[Answer] I would not only cite the growing might of the press. The society has opened up, and so have public tribunes. If that were not so, then the press as well would be unable to open up. For all of us, the events in Kosovo have been an enormous unwanted lecture. We saw the fatal consequences when we hide the truth.

For the past 25 years I have followed closely, as a reporter or commentator, nearly all the major events in the country. With joy I can, for example, note that the content of sessions of the highest forums have been changing. There are no more monotonous meetings. And the reports from even these gatherings are being read because of their variety and critical deliberations. That will become even more the case when all of us who work for the press stop trying to deal in the bureaucratic weighting of public debate, determining our coverage on the basis of who is speaking, rather than what is being said.

An Attempt At Muzzling

[Question] Does this euphoria about the press perhaps say that the errors in other spheres have culminated, these dilemmas that surround us in society, in the economy?

[Answer] By the very fact that public organs by their nature take a critical look at everything, it is normal that there is talk about the journalist's work. It is a shame that this conversation is not broader, to include the readers as well, instead of developing exclusively at sessions of political forums.

Yet certain things prevent that. First, there is the impression that this has become the main social theme for debate. In one editorial I said that in recent months the newspapers have been full of their own themes, of writing about journalists. I could draw the conclusion that the press is our main problem. And since, of course, that is not the case, despite the fact that some things need to be said about the press's shortcomings, the impression created among the public is one of pressure on the press, and attempts to muzzle it. For moral reasons, people then side with the press, even though they have rebukes they would like to send in its direction. Therefore, it seems to me that the press has even greater support right after massive criticism. It is also striking that as time passes, the circle gradually begins to close around the public organs that are published in Belgrade. It turns out that the problems of the press are really the problems of the so-called "Belgrade press," and this in turn always engenders

additional interpretations here in Yugoslavia, which can have broader political implications. It did not pass unnoticed when the debates about public organs for practical purposes ended after the session and the evaluations of the highest Serbian political forums.

As the question suggests, does press criticism seek to push the burning problems of society out of the limelight? I cannot believe that in a politicized society such as ours, there are people who would be able to think that it is that easy to throw dust in the public's eyes. The attitudes of citizens depend on their actual situations: how they live, how well they eat, whether they can satisfy their basic needs, what the prospects are for their children, etc., not to mention market instability and shortages of goods. A press that would fail to be objective in that regard would lose its dignity and respect, just as would influential institutions.

[Question] A journalist naturally functions as a free "shooter," as someone who can point a finger when others cannot. Have you ever felt yourself to be in that role?

[Answer] I strive to write about topics that are in the center of public attention, to explain certain occurrences or point out the things I regard not to be good. The degree to which I succeed in doing that is another question.

[Question] The readers of POLITIKA, a numerous, broad group, await you with excitement and respect in the newspapers, in the column where your running commentary is printed. Certainly you don't always come out before that reading audience with the same feelings. Are you sometimes repentant, or less happy that you are being published?

[Answer] If I had infinite time, I would keep on writing my texts. Any time I read what I have written, I find some weaknesses. That is the basic reason why I constantly put off, not to say avoid, publishing my essays in a collection, although I have had a number of offers. Speaking honestly, when I subsequently read what I have already published, there are few contributions that completely satisfy me. In every text, however, no matter when it appeared, I found what I would call my moral and political definition. When I make compromises, I try not to betray my basic position. Therefore I am not ashamed about what I have written in various situations. There is superficiality, things unsaid, or insufficient objectivity, but my convictions, formed during the war and in the immediate postwar years, are always there. At least I hope they are present in everything I do and try to accomplish.

Everything by the Same Measure

[Question] Some hypothesize that uproars and journalistic sensations are cleverly manipulated: when some economic banditry affair flares up, there always appear, or there are promoted, excessive, socially burning situations on the other side, so that people forget the theft and the economic crimes

in order to focus public attention on esthetic, ideological and verbal sins. Do we frequently have these "changes of topic," or instances where we quickly forget the bankrupt guilty parties while we long remember "rampant" artistic freedoms?

[Answer] Your question itself contains a small editorial. No matter how accurate your observations are, I do not think that everything is devised to avoid certain responsibilities. I have never been able to understand or accept sensitivity to public words the moment they leave the straight and narrow track, while at the same time they find justification for notorious social failures. As soon as there is relatively direct talk about responsibilities, that is immediately legitimized as civil democracy. Yet when certain excesses appear in the cultural sphere, then that is tantamount to undermining the social foundations. I don't think we should be indifferent and not react when art, historiography or the press bring basic social values into question. But the same measures should be used everywhere, in the economy, the functioning of governmental and political institutions, when the idea of self-management is betrayed, when power and personnel policy is monopolized, when key legal measures are hastily passed, when enormous amounts of capital are invested in failing industries, etc. It is good that in criticizing the press, for the first time we are being completely concrete about specific papers. That offers hope for overcoming generalized criticism. Yet at the same time, that gives all of us the right to speak about shortcomings in all other areas of life.

Finally, not a single society has fallen into difficulty because of excesses in art, but rather, because it ignored the social position of its citizens. There are fresh examples in the world. Therefore, above all our criticism must be directed against that which threatens the basic values of society—self-management, democracy and the social security of the people. Also, I cannot understand the frequent warnings that "we have too much criticism, which has turned into criticism for its own sake." We can talk of appropriate and inappropriate criticism, from positions that will define our society or the opposite. If I love this society, if I have tied my fate to it, it is natural for me to criticize its practical deformities. In the final analysis, what happens is the fault of us all.

[Question] You said that you love your profession. Nevertheless, have you had demoralizing, shaking moments in it at any time?

[Answer] I lose my courage, so to speak, every time I sit down to write. I am never sure if I will succeed in saying convincingly and effectively everything about which I want to write. But at the same time, that drives me to increased effort.

Otherwise, the most difficult times come in certain dramatic situations, which nearly every collective experiences, which once used to decide the fates of individual people. I cannot become reconciled to verbal violence, immoderation and vengeful attitudes, in which no thought is given to the means used to bring people to their knees, particularly political means. Then a man would prefer to live in a cave. However, time puts everything in its place, and only with distance in time can a man perceive what a great thing it is to preserve his integrity, his dignity and his personal honesty.

Political Accusations

[Question] Do you have any unpublished texts?

[Answer] Every journalist has unpublished texts, but usually the longer a man is in the profession, the fewer there are. In recent years, and for quite a few of them, everything I have written has been published in its entirety. Thus I don't have any justification for everything I have written or have not written. I have my measures, and I stick with them, regardless of advice. I am not an adherent of lambasting texts that give cause for all sorts of attacks on journalists or restrictions of public media. But I am also against overly cautious writing, morbid fear and all sorts of "pepper sprinkling." I am sorry that my text, written about 1974 or 1975, in which I protested against the ban on publishing the book "The Red King," was not published. If I had been more persistent, that too would have been published. However, I do not subscribe to pressure, for the simple reason that the responsibility of the editor is greater than that of the contributor for everything that appears in the newspapers. Thus I cannot complain that my texts have been shortened in editing. On the contrary! But there is something else. Much that I have written (and nearly every forenoon I write) ends up torn up in the wastebasket, either because I am dissatisfied with it or for other reasons.

[Question] It is a frequent habit here in Yugoslavia for people to declare they are defending "higher goals," "wider social values," with their positions. What is your experience with people who turn all sorts of reproaches into reproaches directed at the state itself, at the system?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we have never been spared from them, in a lesser or greater degree. Completely innocent criticism, which is extremely well-intentioned, frequently is given heavy political weight. A single mistaken text can cause a newspaper to be branded as liberal. Criticism of the disjointedness of a collective and frequent misunderstood formation of organizations of associated labor can be judged to be an attack on the Law on Associated Labor. Requests for testing certain economic measures are often greeted as an attack on the self-management and economic system. In this context, I recently asked the question as to how a man would feel if he were to express such an evaluation, if to him were attributed one of the pronouncements that we have in abundance?

Where does this come from? I cannot believe that some of the people who are constantly invoking what they call "higher goals" see things that the majority of their fellow citizens do not see. Yet many of these political accusations are seen as an easy way to gag people, to show one's own loyalty, or to incapacitate the debate on concrete responsibility for various failures. More than that, certain influential people equate an attack on their own bureaucratic positions with an attack on the system. They protect their own poor work by branding criticism of it as an attack on the party.

In that regard, we must seriously think about the fact that in recent times, in an alarming fashion, we have been talking about the expansion of the enemy and the opposition. Certainly, it is dangerous to underestimate the enemy, but at the same time it is equally dangerous to overestimate him, because that creates an inaccurate impression of the weaknesses of our society and of the actual attitude in the Yugoslav community. Judging from the amount we hear about the enemy, an uninformed person could think that a foe was peering around every corner. I think that Franc Setinc accurately noted on one occasion that our weaknesses are truly our greatest enemy, and that they create the conditions for the operations of those who are against the interests of the country: "Sometimes we are our own enemy." Thus the main problem is in us, in our unreadiness to implement what is otherwise widely accepted. At the top of our lungs we talk about the dangers of nationalism, but we do not want to see that supporting regionalism and emphasizing some of our unique features to a ridiculous point, including everything in which we differ, gives great encouragement to nationalism under the cloak of reasonable respect for national feelings. If something does not change in that regard, the thing we least want can happen—nationalism could be legalized as normal behavior.

Without Drama

[Question] The youth press has recently taken quite a few cuffs. Is there reason for that? What do you think of your younger colleagues in general?

[Answer] The youth press, as you called it, has a long tradition among us. For example, STUDENT is one of the oldest Yugoslav newspapers. As long as I can remember, there have always been "problems" with the youth press, not only for the past 2 months. I am glad to read the youth press because it brings me to think. I would like to see some of these young journalists on my staff. I would remind you that an entire generation, which today dominates our press, attended the school of the youth press. Unfortunately, that has not been the case for 10 years and more. That is not good for the youth press, which should be constantly renewed with fresh personnel, nor for "the big press" (a rather unfortunate label), which would welcome the temperament, freshness and spirit of the youth newspapers.

I frequently disagree with articles in the youth press, but I disagree even more with those who make a drama out of it and want to drive everything into set patterns. From those who are not ready to enter into public debate with opinions they disagree with, we could at least expect tolerance and belief in good intentions.

What do I think about my young colleagues? It seems that I readily find a common language with them, and I have become friendly with many of them. Some of them will make brilliant journalistic careers. Experience indicates that their work in large part depends on the atmosphere at the editorial offices. I would like to see them do more to create "a new atmosphere" themselves, and have them conform less to the status quo. Although I find the antiquated role of advisor unpleasant, I would like to say something else. I would like to assure all those who enter journalism that patient and honest work pays, and that speculative penetrations into journalism are usually of short duration.

PREMATURE CRITIC OF KOSOVO HAPPENINGS EULOGIZED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 82 p 7

[Article by Slavoljub Djukic: "A Late Story"]

[Text] Every journalist bears a certain professional and moral debt that he has not satisfied. One may view in this light the story of Jovo Sotra, whose name was mentioned at the last meeting of the Serbian Assembly, which was devoted to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The fate of Jovo Sotra comprises the drama of an irreconcilable man, with simple virtues and, one could say, touching errors, who believed that in life it is enough to think sincerely and speak openly. In addition, his case is a politically and socially instructive story for all times, about a mechanism for suppressing the truth, and a courage that no one was able to deny about the power of people in authority, who know how to crush a man when he opposes their views, and the isolation of a person who dares to report well-known unpleasant truths before it is time.

Sotra participated in World War II from 1941 on. He was among the Serbian activists in Kosovo who truly understood the errors in the past of their own nation, and believed that different relations would emerge in Kosovo after the Brion plenum. As a member of the Provincial Committee and a delegate of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Yugoslav Assembly, he carried his share of the burden, which was not a small one.

The life of this man began to be more complicated on the last day of 1971, when he sent a report to the highest forums and political figures of Yugoslavia and Serbia on "some current issues regarding the political situation in Kosovo." This was a text that was well reasoned and organized, 22 pages long, with unusual frankness, but also a pronounced understanding of ethnic sensitivity. In contrast to some recent public statements, which were burdened with emotions and ethnic biases, Sotra's report suggests a dispassionate study, which could not bear up under political improvisation and careerist adaptation.

He began his text, which was written a decade ago, with the observation that "in recent years, instead of a real joint struggle to increase equality, one type of chauvinism has in fact been replaced by another." In regard to this,

through several facts, which we can scarcely believe, Sotra already then described everything that is now being discussed loudly: the emergence of Albanian nationalism, the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the suppression of the nature and consequences of the 1968 demonstrations, the slogan "Kosovo a republic" and the chauvinistic centers at the University, the awarding of selected positions to outspoken nationalists and discrimination in the employment of members of different nationalities, the negative aspects of cooperation with Albania and the power of the provincial leadership.... This report even discusses something that is often kept quiet even today: the role of certain officials of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in covering up the truth, or, as Sotra wrote, comrades "among the Serbs and Montenegrins who are known to argue according to the wishes of the leadership."

Sotra's text, better than any other, refutes the assertion that no one knew what was going on in Kosovo. It was known, but the desire and conditions for us to face the truth did not exist.

Sotra wrote [about this] in 1971, 1973, and 1976. His report was known to the highest party forums; however, they took the word of the provincial leadership which depicted the situation in Kosovo differently, and called Jovo Sotra and others like him "continual proponents of a counterline that is part of the sinister hostile forces."

When hope was lost that Sotra would withdraw in self-criticism, a meeting of the provincial committee of the Kosovo LC held on 20 June 1973, which was attended by the Kosovo party officials [who served] in the forums of Serbia and Yugoslavia, discussed the "Jovo Sotra case." After the discussion, a report was issued, which deserves to be cited at length for its harsh realism:

"The provincial committee has come to the united assessment and conclusion that the report by Comrade Jova Sotra suffers from false, arbitrary, and subjective allegations and ideologically and politically unacceptable views and positions, which are contrary to the policy and practice of the LC and the views of the provincial committee of the Kosovo LC.

Through ideologically unacceptable, false, and distorted views and insinuations about the situation in Kosovo, Comrade Jovo Sotra has expressed profound distrust of the provincial committee and of some personnel from all the nationalities; this was in essence objectively aimed at disinforming LC agencies, and aimed against ideological and political unity in the Kosovo LC and the provincial committee.

Recently, on several occasions, in the absence of any personal initiative from Comrade Jovo Sotra, talks were conducted with him and he was offered assistance and an opportunity to make a critical review of the views and allegations in his report.... Comrade Sotra, however, has not only not taken a constructive and self-critical approach to reviewing the views and ideological-political positions stated in his report; he has instead stubbornly continued to persist in them, and has intensified and exacerbated some of them even more, thus expressing profound disagreement and his doubt of the constructiveness and correctness of the positions of the provincial committee of the Kosovo LC."

Jovo Sotra was unanimously expelled from the provincial committee. His Pristina party organization, however, did not expel him from the party, as is, after all, the usual practice in such circumstances. He remained a member of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Yugoslav Assembly until the end of his term. He had trouble looking for work in Belgrade with a master's degree in economic sciences, because he was accompanied by negative recommendations from Kosovo. Later he was the director of the Commercial Association for Cooling Devices of Yugoslavia.

We met last year. He did not speak too much, as injured people usually do. He thought about rehabilitation, although, as an experienced man, he knew how many difficulties would be entailed. A man of whom it is later asserted that he was right simply cannot be right, because in that case a question naturally arises in regard to the number of people who believed that he was not right, even those who are now saying what Sotra said 10 years ago.

We parted after agreeing that first of all I would read his text, and that we would get in touch again. Business postponed this meeting. One morning in November last year I received a telephone call from his brother, who requested that we intercede so that POLITIKA, which was coming out with a reduced number of pages during a newsprint shortage, would publish a paid obituary. That much could be done for Jovo Sotra, who died unexpectedly at the age of 56, leaving behind him a powerful document of lasting value, about a political and human integrity that was manipulated and coldly sacrificed under the pressure of bureaucratic power.

After all of this, what is left is for us to think about ourselves in light of such a fate, [to think about] how much we have overlooked and are [still] overlooking in making it possible for certain powers to put themselves above common sense, sincere human involvement, and social needs, which become reality only if one is guided by the truth, and not by the needs of narrow interests.

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